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HISTORY OF THE KHALJĪS

HISTORY OF THE KHALJIS (1290-1320)

BY

K. S. LAL, M.A., D.Phil., (Allahabad),
Provincial Educational Service, Madhya Pradesh.

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Portions of this book on 'Alāuddīn Khalji' were submitted as a thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the University of Allahabad.

PREFACE

The history of pre-Mughal India has not received the attention it deserves. Except for a few text-book and some monographs, it still lies buried in the original sources. Long ago Vincent Aquila Smith wrote that "the reign of 'Alāúddīn requires critical study in a separate monograph". The present work is an effort to satisfy the long felt need. It covers the study not only of the reign of 'Alāúddīn but of the Khaljī dynasty as a whole. It is the result of a little more than three years of labour.

The historical material on the Sultanate Period is scanty, but whatever has been available to me in Arabic and Persian chronicles, in the accounts of travels and in the more recent works in English, Hindi and Urdu, I have tried my best to collect, sift and utilise. I have tried my utmost to be judicious in my conclusions, and have neither explained an act or policy to the extent of excusing, nor have I uncritically dispraised or blamed.

My study of the period has reduced the extent of 'Alā-úddīn's empire, and has removed to a very large extent the charge of bigotry so often levelled against him. I have arrived at the conclusion that the Khaljis belonged to the Turkish stock, and believe that the story of Padmini is nothing more than the growth of a legend. I have been able to throw some fresh light on the causes of the family quarrels of 'Alāúddīn, his first expedition into Devagiri, Ulugh Khan's expedition to Gujarat and 'Alāúddīn's conquest of Jaisalmer. I have also given a sketch of the life, society and institutions of the early Mongols, and have brought out the causes of their successive invasions of India.

My thanks are due to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, M.A., D.Litt., for the keen interest he has always shown in my work. His ready advice and guidance encouraged me to bring the work to a successful close; and it is because of his active help that the book has seen the light of the day. My teachers Dr. Tara Chand, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon), now Secretary, Ministry of Education, and Dr. R. P. Tripathi, M.A., D.Sc. (London), now Vice-Chancellor, University of Saugar, also rendered me inestimable help whenever I approached them for guidance. Dr. B. P. Saksena, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Professor of History, University of Allahabad, very kindly read my thesis from cover to cover and suggested invaluable changes and improvements for which I shall be ever grateful to him. My thanks are also due to Prof. Muhammad Habib, M.A. (Oxon.) who, too, never grudged to spare time in lending me help and suggestions. In the end I must thank all those friends who helped me in so many ways in the preparation of this work, especially in the correction of proofs, and the making of the Index.

The author is indebted to the Curator, Arts Section, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, for permission to print the picture of the sword of 'Alā'uddīn; and to the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, for permission to print the other pictures contained in this book.

K. S. Lal

33-B Beli Road,

Allahabad.

October 24, 1950.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION.

The following system has been used:—

a	ا	§	ص
b	ب	z	ض
p	پ	t	ط
t	ت	z	ظ
s	ث	‘	ع
j	ج	gh	غ
ch	چ	f	ف
h	ح	q	ق
kh	خ	k	ك
d	د	g	گ
ḍ	ḍ	l	ل
z	ذ	m	م
r	ر	n	ن
ṛ	ر̣	ñ	ں
z	ز	v	و
zh	ژ	h	ه
s	س	y	ي
	ش		

Long vowels are indicated as ā, ī, ū. Well known words like Khan and Sultan are not accented.

ABBREVIATIONS.

- Aghnides—*Muhammadan Theories of Finance*, London 1916.
- Annals—*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, by Col. Tod, Crooke's Edition.
- Arch. Sur. Rep.—*Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*.
- Aiyangar—*South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, London 1921.
- Badaoni—*Muntakhabut Tavārīkh* by Abdul Qādir Badaoni Bibliotheca Indica text; and Translation by Ranking, 2 vols.
- Barani—*Tarīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* by Ziyāuddin Barani, Bibliotheca Indica Text.
- Briggs—Translation of *Tarīkh-i-Ferishtah*, 4 vols.
- Chronicles—Thomas: *The Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Delhi*, London, 1971.
- Deval Rani—or *Ashiq* by Amīr Khusrāu, Aligarh Text.
- Elliot—*History of India as told by its own historians*, by Elliot and Dowson, 8 vols. London 1887.
- Epig. Carn.—*Epigraphica Carnatica*.
- Epig. Indo-Moslemica—*Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica*.
- Ferishtah—*Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī* or *Tarīkh-i-Ferīshṭah*. Newal Kishore Press Lucknow Text.
- Futūh—*Futūhus Salātin* of Iṣāmī Edited by Āgha Mahdi Husain, Agra, 1938.
- Hoḍivala—*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, by S. H. Hoḍivala, Bombay.
- Ibn Battūṭah—*Voyages D. Ibn Batoutah*, Defrémery et Sanguinette, 4 vols.
- Ind. Ant.—*Indian Antiquary*.
- J.A.S.B.—*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

J.R.A.S.—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London.

Jour. Num. Soc.—*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*.

Khazāin—*Khazāinul Futūh* by Amīr *Khusrau*, Aligarh Text, and Translation by Professor Muḥammad Habīb, Taraporevala, Bombay.

Nainsi—*Khayats* (Hindi) 2 vols.

N. Wright—*Sultans of Delhi, Their coins and Metrology*, Oxford.

Tab-Akb.—*Tabqāt-i-Akbarī* of Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad Bibliotheca Indica Text, Calcutta.

Tab-Naṣ.—*Tabqāt-i-Nāṣirī* by Minhāj Sirāj, Bibliotheca Indica Text. Translation by Major Raverty, 2 vols.

T.M.S.—*Tarīkh-i-Mubark Shāhī*, Bibliotheca Indica Text.

Tughlaqnāmah—by Amīr *Khusrau*, Persian Text published by Chiranjīval.

Vaṣṣāf—*Tazjiyatul Amṣār va Tajriyatul Āsār*, also known as *Tarīkh-i-Vaṣṣāf*, Bombay Text.

Ẓafarul Vāli—*An Arabic History of Gujarāt*, edited by Sir Denison Ross.

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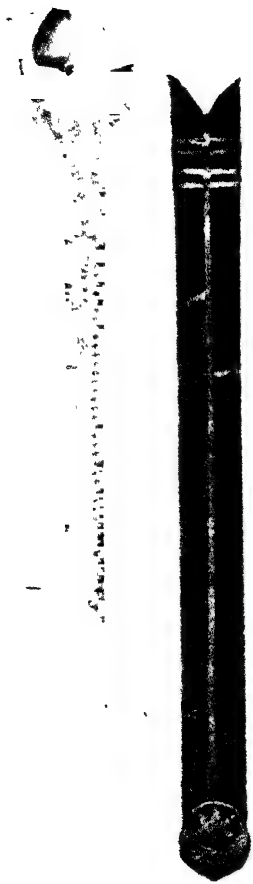
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Frontispiece

Sword of 'Alāuddīn Khaljī
(Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay)

One Persian inscription reads: "In the name of God!
The Merciful! The Compassionate!"

Another inscription is: "Victory is at hand!"

Near the inscription are seen four dots which are
said to denote that four heads fell to the sword.

CHAPTER I

THE DYNASTIC REVOLUTION OF 1290

After successfully ruling for two score years, twenty years as minister and twenty years as king, the octogenarian Balban was destined to die ^{on} a broken heart. As the emperor lay dying he sent for the chief nobles of the state like Fakhruddīn the Kotwāl and Khvajā Hasan Baṣrī the Vazīr, and asked them to support the accession of Kai Khusrāu, son of the martyred prince Muḥammad, whose death at the hands of the Mughals had told on Balban's own shattered existence. But power politics knows no morality; and as soon as Ghayaṣuddīn closed his eyes (686 H. 1287 A.D.)¹ his will was thrown to the winds. Through the intrigues of Fakhruddīn, Kai Khusrāu was sent to Multan and Kaiqubād, son of Bughra Khan and grandson of Balban, was crowned king with the title of Sultan Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād. Bughra Khan had stronger claims to succession but he did not oppose his son's enthronement at Delhi as he himself was crowned at Lakhnauti as an independent king of Bengal with the title of Sultan Nāsiruddīn Maḥmūd Bughra Shah.

Hardly a youth of seventeen or eighteen,² Mu'izzuddīn now found himself master of the country. His heart was generous, his nature refined, his person comely; but his age

¹ *Qirāṭus Sādai* p. 35, *Futūḥ*. p. 180, *T.M.S.* p. 52 and Badaoni Ranking Vol. I p. 220 have 686 H. This date is correct since Mu'izzuddīn's rule of three years and some months ended in 698 H. as shown below. *Baranī* p. 127 wrongly has 685 H.

² According to Badaonī, Ranking Vol. I. p. 220, and *Ferishtah* p. 83 he was in his sixteenth year at the time of accession. According to *Tab. Akb.* he had completed eighteen years. *Baranī* has seventeen or eighteen years.

was his greatest enemy. The vigilant Balban had looked after him too rigorously and during his life-time Kaiqubād had not been suffered to "cast a glance at a pretty face or taste a cup of wine."³ Thus, when suddenly he found himself completely unfettered and monarch of a great empire, the desires of self indulgence and gratification of youthful caprices received his utmost attention. Clowns and jesters and jugglers flocked from all corners of the country⁴ and in every quarter a singer or a song-writer lifted his head. "Courtezans appeared in the shadow of every wall, and elegant forms sunned themselves in every balcony."⁵ The gallantries of the king were emulated by men of means and the price of wine rose tenfold.⁶ Six months⁷ after his accession Mu'izzuddīn left the Red Fort and shifted to the beautiful palace he had built on the banks of the Jumna. Finding that the new king wanted to make Kilughari a beautiful and prosperous capital, the barons and the elite of Delhi flocked to it and built houses there. Kilughari soon began to pulsate with life and roll in licence. The sultan's court was flooded with beauty and wit, "and the enchantment he drank in by ear and eye, never lost its hold upon his breast till death."⁸

In short, the efficient administrative machinery set up by Balban was shattered to pieces, and the fear of sovereignty, the dread of espionage and the loyalty for the king left the breasts of the people. Malik Nizāmuddīn, nephew and son-in-law of Malikul-'umara Fakhrūddīn seeing that the sultan was ever immersed in women and wine and one day the sceptre of the government must needs fall from his hands, determin-

³ Baranī p. 128.

⁴ Ferishtah p. 84.

⁵ Baranī p. 129.

⁶ Baranī p. 130, Ferishtah p. 84.

⁷ T.M.S. p. 53.

⁸ Baranī p. 131. *J.A.S.B.*, 1871, p. 188.

ed to grip it with all his might. He held the office of Vakīl-i-dar⁹ and posing as an attached servant of the state had won the confidence of the king. As time passed, all the duties of the government devolved upon him. He found a very good assistant in Malik 'Umdatul-mulk Qivāmuddīn 'Alā Dabīr.¹⁰ Qivāmuddīn had no equal in learning and eloquence of style and held the post of Naib Vakīl-i-dar.¹¹ Nizāmuddīn himself was very industrious, discreet, penetrating and talented, and far-ed well with the task of administration. But his manoeuvres were soon known to the people at large. Several of the leading nobles—some on account of the fear that no immunity could be expected from Nizāmuddīn if he became too powerful, and some others through sheer ambition—also began to aspire for power for themselves. But Nizāmuddīn was not to be caught napping. He reflected that prince Muḥammad who had a talent for command was dead, and Nāṣiruddīn Bughra was wasting away his energies in the insalubrious retreats of Bengal. So the only thorn in his side which could prove a source of trouble later on was Kai Khusrau, now in exile at Multan. He, therefore, instigated Mu'izzuddīn to murder Kai Khusrau, forwarding the plea that if even a few of Balban's officers fraternised with him it

⁹ Ferishtah p. 84. According to 'Isāmī he was appointed Mir dād (*Futūḥ* pp. 181, 182, 191) but Ferishtah seems more correct since all the historians say that Qivāmuddīn, the Naib Vakīl-i-dar, was his assistant.

The principal duty of the Vakīl-i-dar was to keep the keys of the palace gates. Also see *Tab. Nāi*. Raverty vol. I. p. 694.

¹⁰ Baranī has قوام الدين علاقه دبير. The word 'Alaqa has no meaning. علاقه may be a mistake of the copyist for علاء which may mean that Qivāmuddīn was an efficient secretary or that he was son of one 'Alā Dabīr.

¹¹ Baranī p. 131.

would not take him a day to push the king aside and usurp the throne.¹² Kai Khusrau also seems to have made an attempt for the crown for which he had a legitimate claim. He had gone as far as Ghaznī to seek assistance from the Mongols but they were busy otherwise and could not help him in marching on to Delhi. The chagrined prince had returned to Multan but his moments were communicated to Muizzuddin who ordered his death.¹³ In short the prey of Nizāmuddin's machinations was summoned from Multan and beheaded at Rohtak on his way to Delhi.¹⁴ Having got rid of one enemy Nizāmuddin tried his hands on others. He charged Khwājā Khaṭir Mu'izzuddin's minister, with some trivial offence and got him paraded through the city seated on an ass. He ordered a wholesale massacre of the Mughal converts, better known as neo-Muslims, on the charge that they had plotted against the monarch, and banished their families to distant fortresses.¹⁵ Next Malik Shahik, feudatory of Multan, and Malik Tuzaki, feudatory of Baran, both trusted barons of Balban, were summoned to the court and killed on one pretext or the other. Nizāmuddin even went to the extent of attempting on the king's life. He added poison into his potions and this fact was responsible for the king's early if not immediate death.¹⁶ But in spite of these excesses, Nizām enjoyed unflinching confidence of the king. In fact Mu'izzuddin was, for all practical purposes, playing into his hands. If anybody insinuated nefarious motives to his designs the sultan would forthwith

¹² Ibid. pp. 132-33.

¹³ *Futūḥ* pp. 190-92.

Feristah p. 84 repeats the same story, quoting *Futūḥ* and the History of Haji Muhammad Qanhari as his authorities.

¹⁴ Baranī p. 133; Badaonī, Ranking Vol. I p. 222; Ferishtah p. 84.

¹⁵ Baranī pp. 133-34.

¹⁶ *Futūḥ*. pp. 192-94.

mention to Nizām: "So and so has told me such and such things about you." The man would then be called and suffer from the implacable revenge of the wily councillor. In this way Nizāmuddīn destroyed many useful ministers and officials. Such was his ascendancy that his wife was designed as "the honorary mother of the sultan and the directress of female apartments." Owing to his unchallengeable position and unshakable power "the nobles and officers became completely obsequious and subservient to him . . . and his threshold become the apylum of high and low."¹⁷

The nonagenarian Fakhruddīn was aware of the dangerous game his son-in-law was playing. On more than one occasion he had reprimanded him saying: "Give up this idea of sovereignty . . . The imperial purple befits the person of soldiers. You, who dare not strike a green-grocer with an onion stalk, or fling a clod at a jackal, how can you count yourself a man among men and dream of an imperial crown."¹⁸ This advice was appreciated more by those who learnt about it, than by the one for whom it was meant. But if Nizāmuddīn refused to listen to his father-in-law the foolish sultan at last lent an attentive ear to his father. When the tidings of the ruinous conditions at Delhi reached Bughra Khan in Bengal he hastened to meet his son at Ayodhya, where Mu'izzuddīn arrived to receive him. Nizām did his best to create a rift between father and son and even tried to stop an interview between them. But they met and the tears of the two added a pleasant poignancy to the situation.¹⁹ Nāṣiruddīn gave a hundred pieces of advice to Mu'izzuddīn, and at the time of parting, he whispered into his ears: "Be quick and

¹⁷ *Tab. Akb.* Trs. by De p. 122.

¹⁸ Baranī p. 136., *J.A.S.B.*, 1871 pp. 191-92.

¹⁹ For a graphic description of the meeting see *Qirānūs Sādān* Persian text, pp. 130-60. Elliot vol. III pp. 524-96 and Ibn Battūṭah, vol. III p. 177.

put Nizāmuddīn out of the way. If after this he finds an opportunity, he will not leave you on the throne for a day.”²⁰

The advice went home. The first thing Mu‘izzudīn did on his return to Kilughari was to order Nizāmuddīn to Multan, ostensibly to take charge of the administration there but in reality to remove him from Delhi. Nizāmuddīn at once surmised the cause of his sudden transfer and delayed departure. The courtiers knew that the king wanted to do away with him and secretly obtained his permission to effect Nizām’s death. One of these days some deadly poison was administered into his wine and his crafty career came to a sudden close. *The Ascendancy of the Khaljis.*

Nizāmuddīn’s death paralysed Mu‘izzuddīn’s government. Despite his intriguing nature, he was an able and shrewd administrator. There was no one fitted to take his place. Mu‘izzuddīn was as bad as ever. For some time he had complied with his father’s wishes but then “the reins of his heart slipped away from his hands” and once again his concupiscence began to grow boundless. Constant drinking completely wrecked his health, and the little stability that there was in the government was shaken out of it.²¹ It was at this juncture that Jalāl-uddīn Firoz Khalji, governor (Naib) of Samanah and Sarjāndār of the court, was sent for by the king. On his arrival he was given the title of Shayasta Khan,²² the fief of Baran, and the portfolio of the Minister of War (‘Ariz-i-Mumalik). Malik Aitmar Kachhan and Malik Aitmar Surkhāh, two noblemen of Balban were made Master of Ceremonies (Barbak) and Wakil-i-dar respectively. Thus an interim arrangement was decided upon and an attempt was made to run the tottering administration. Jalāluddīn was a born soldier and had for long fought the Mughals on the

²⁰ Baranī p. 156.

²¹ Baranī p. 170.

²² Baranī alone, p. 170, has Siyāsat Khan. All other historians give the above title.

north-west frontier. He was a man full of experience and was incapable of any wrong action.²³ Soon the Turkish nobles grew jealous of his position. Suddenly the sultan was attacked with paralysis. His condition gradually deteriorated and there was no hope of his recovery. Factions multiplied and recriminations intensified. The situation, however, was eased for the time being by the prompt action of some influential Balbanī nobles, who placed an infant son of Mu'izzuddīn²⁴ on the throne and gave him the title of Shamsuddīn. Jalāluddīn Shayasta Khan was appointed his deputy (Naib) and important posts and portfolios were distributed among capable officers. In this way kingship "remained in the house of Balban (Turks and did not fall into the hands of some one (of another race))."

”ملك در خاندان سلطان بلبن بماند و بر قومی و اصلی
دیگر نیفتد و از اصل ترکان ذود“²⁵

This saving of the throne for the Turks was nothing but a gesture on the part of the old aristocracy against Jalāluddīn Khaljī who had outdone them all in efficiency and ability. The nobility at Delhi was hereafter clearly divided into two camps. The Turkish party was headed by the adventurous Aitmar Kachhan and Aitmar Surkhāh and consisted of old Balbanī barons. The other was headed by Jalāluddīn Khaljī, whom public opinion did not consider as belonging to Turkish blood. Aitmar Kachhan and Aitmar Surkhāh together with some Turkish nobles decided that such nobles as were not real Turks should be divested of all power and removed from their positions. They prepared a list of such names and the name of

²³ *T.M.S.* p. 56.

²⁴ Baranī p. 171 has خورد سال . Ferihstah p. 87 has طفل سه ساله or a child of three years. Baranī and Nizāmuddīn give his name. The author of *T.M.S.* has Kaikaus while 'Iṣāmī and Ferishtah have Kaimurs.

²⁵ Baranī p. 171.

Jalāluddīn headed the list.²⁶ Jalāluddīn was informed of this conspiracy by Malik Ahmad Chap the chief Hājib of the king.²⁷ Jalāl now felt that it was not safe for him to stay in Delhi any longer and he with his adherents betook themselves to Bahārpur.²⁸ He called some men from his fief of Baran (modern Bulandshahr) and rallied round him a strong party of relatives and friends.

Jalāluddīn's flight created consternation in the Turkish ranks. Their game was out. They decided to strike the first blow and finish Jalāluddīn. To disarm him of all suspicion Aitmar Kachhan and Aitmar Surkhah sent him a memorial addressing him as emperor Jalāluddīn. Aitmar Kachhan started with a small band of troopers to decoy him from Bahārpur, carry him off to Kilughari and kill him in the presence of the infant king Shamsuddīn. Jalāluddīn had scented the plot from before and as soon as Kachhan arrived at the former's mansion he was pulled down from his horse and instantly beheaded by 'Alāuddīn.²⁹ The murder of Kachhan further inflamed feelings of animosity on both sides. Jalāluddīn's brave and gallant sons now rode post haste to Delhi with a company of fifty horse,³⁰ forcibly seized the infant king and carried him off to Bahārpur together with the sons of Malik Fakhruddīn.³¹ Aitmar Surkhah started in their pursuit and overtook them near Bahārpur. A hand to hand scuffle ensued in which Ikhtiyāruddīn, the eldest son of Jalāl, fell from his horse and

²⁶ Ibid. p. 172.

²⁷ *Futūh*. p. 197., *T.M.S.* p. 56.

²⁸ Baranī has Bahārpur, Ferishtah Bahādurpur, Badaonī Bahāpur and 'Iṣāmī Bhokal Bahārī. The place lies on the Jumna some six or seven miles east of old Delhi and south west of Kilughari.

²⁹ *Futūh*. p. 198.

³⁰ Baranī has 50, *Tab. Akb.* and Ferishtah 500.

³¹ Ferishtah p. 88. The narrative of Badaonī is slightly different.

Surkhah dealt upon him two or three blows with his sword. Luckily none of them proved effective and this gave time to Ikhtiyāruddīn, who drew his sword and struck off the head of Aitmar Surkhah.³²

The abduction of the young king was too much for the public of Delhi to stand. The citizens rose in a body, poured out of all the thirteen gates³³ of the city and assembled at the Badaon Gate. They determined to march to Bahārpur and rescue the emperor's son from the clutches of the Khaljīs. A sub-conscious loyalty had developed in their breasts for the Ilbārīs who had ruled over them for the last eighty years, and the people abhorred the very idea of being ruled by the Khaljīs. But before they could leave the walls of the city Malikul'umra stood at the Badaon Gate and stopped them from proceeding further. His sons were in the custody of Jalāluddīn and in the interest of his own kith and kin he did not want any struggle with the latter. He, therefore, put down the tumult and dispersed the crowd. The majority of the people turned back, but a large number of Turkish Amīrs and Malīks finding both of their leaders killed and their cause lost went over to Jalāluddīn. Their forces swelled the ranks of the Khaljīs.³⁴

With the Turkish party crushed, the infant king in his possession, and the paralytic Mu'izzuddīn in the throes of death, Jalāluddīn was now all powerful. A couple of days after Shamsuddīn's abduction Jalāl sent to Kilughari a man

³² T.M.S. p. 59 *Ferishtah* p. 88.

³³ Baranī has twelve gates but Amīr Khusrāu (*Qirānus Sādāin*, Elliot vol. III p. 524) has thirteen. Sharafuddīn Yazdī, the author of *Mulfūzāt-i-Timūri*, points out that the old Delhi of Mu'izzuddīn had ten gates but three others were opened from Siri ('Alāuddīn's city) to Jahānpanāh (Tughlaq's city). Thus Delhi had thirteen gates and not twelve. Ibn Battūṭah gives the names of several of them.

³⁴ *Zafarul Vālī* p. 753.

named Tarkesh,³⁵ whose father had been killed by Mu'izzuddīn, to avenge his father's death by finishing the dying sultan. The man entered the palace, wrapped the king's body in a carpet, delivered a few kicks at it, and flung it into the Jumna. The river bore away the last of the Ilbārī sultans (19th Muharram 689, Wednesday, February 1st, 1290).³⁶ The crown was almost thrust on Jalāluddīn's head but he hesitated to adorn the diadem all at once. He seated Shamsuddīn on the throne at Bahārpur and proposed to Malik Chhajjū, nephew of Balban, to undertake the duties of Regent and the guardianship of the young king. On his behalf, he requested for the districts of Tabarhinda, Deopulpur and Multan.³⁷ Malik Chhajjū on the other hand asked for the fief of Kara, yielding Regency and Vazīrship to Shayastā Khan. Jalāluddīn assented to the proposal and assigned Kara to Chhajjū who immediately left for his fief. For some time Jalāluddīn used to bring Shamsuddīn into the darbār and place him on the throne, himself discharging the duties of Regent and Vazīr, but everybody knew that such an arrangement was not to continue for long. Friends and foes all hailed the rising star and Jalāluddīn left Bahārpur with the puppet king and a large concourse of people. He arrived in Kilughari and crowned himself king. Shamsuddīn was thrown into prison where he died after some time.³⁸

The citizens of Delhi, however, looked upon his accession with great resentment. Delhi was full of men of rank and wealth, writes the contemporary chronicler Ziyāuddīn, "but no voice of congratulation hailed the installation of Jalāl-

³⁵ *Futūh*. p. 200.

³⁶ Mu'izzuddīn ruled for three years and some months. Also see *T.M.S.* p. 59.

³⁷ Badaonī, Ranking, vol. I p. 229.

³⁸ Shamsuddīn's reign lasted for three months and some days. *T.M.S.* p. 61; Ferishtah p. 88; Badaonī, Ranking, vol. I p. 229.

uddin." So apprehensive was the new king of their hostile attitude that for a long time he did not venture to enter the metropolis. The popular feeling was against the Khaljis whose ascendancy had put an end to the government of the "Turks."

Origin of the Khaljis.

The resentment of the public was due to the belief that the Khaljis were a race different from that of the Turks. But in reality it was not so. Ziyauddin Baranī writes that when Kaiqubād fell seriously ill and there was no hope of his recovery, the officers of Balban assembled together and decided to enthrone a young son of Mu'izzuddin, and carry on the administration through a council of regents "lest the sovereignty should be lost to the Turks."³⁹ The historian also writes that because Jalāluddīn "belonged to a different race (اصل) " he did not have any confidence in the Turks, nor did the Turks put their trust in the Khaljis. After Jalāluddīn had left Delhi, established his headquarter at Bahārpur, defeated the Turks under Aitmar Kachhan and Aitmar Surkhāh and captured the young son of Mu'izzuddin, a large number of Turkish nobles (از اصل ترکان) went over to him and the Khaljis gained numerical superiority. On the day of the death of Mu'izzuddin the government of the country "passed from the family of the Turks (در خاندان ترکان) to that of the Khaljis (در اصل خلجیان). Nobles, soldiers and merchants all alike were amazed, and they wondered at the way the Khaljis had seated themselves on the throne in place of the Turks and the kingship passed from the Turkish race to another race."⁴¹

³⁹ Baranī p. 171. ⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 173. ⁴¹ Ibid pp. 175-76.

شریف و لشکری و بازاری.....دیران ماندندی و ایشار را
عجب مینمود که خلجیان چگونه بجائے ترکان بر تخت
نشینند و بادشاهی از اصل ترکان دراصل دیگر رود -

The above statements of Baranī bear out two facts. Firstly, that there were two parties at Delhi, one under Aitmar Kachhan and Aitmar Surkhāh, and the other under Jalāluddīn Khalji. Either of them wanted to gain ascendancy at the court, and to rule in the name of the young son of Mu'izzuddīn, who was lying on his death bed. Naturally, each party distrusted the other, and tried to out manoeuvre each other's plans. Secondly, that the Khaljis were of a different race from the Turks. Beyond this Baranī does not say anything. He does not point out the race to which the Khaljis belonged.

But later historians have tried to elucidate the point. Nizāmuddīn Ahmad is perhaps the first among them. According to him the Khaljis were the descendants of Qulij Khan, a son-in-law of Changiz Khan. Qulij was not on good terms with his wife but dared not break away openly from her father, the Mongol emperor. At last he found a welcome opportunity to overthrow his allegiance to Changiz, when with his family and followers numbering about 30,000 men, he migrated to the dales of Ghaur and Jurjistān. There he remained undisturbed, and his people came to be known as Qālji from Qalij or Qulij; but later on, on account of constant use, the word changed into Khalji. When the rulers of Ghaur conquered India, the Khaljis followed in their train in large numbers and took service under the sultans of Hindustan. Among these Khaljis were the ancestors of Sultan Jalāluddīn of Delhi and Sultan Mahmūd of Malwa. Nizāmuddīn further adds that according to the author of the Saljūq-nāmah the Khaljis were descended from Turk, son of Japhet, son of Noah.⁴²

But Nizāmuddīn's conclusion is hardly worth credence, because in an earlier context he writes that the Khaljis fought in the Khvarizm Shahi armies, and, therefore, their existence before Changiz Khan's times cannot be doubted. The hypo-

⁴² *Tab. Akb.* p. 116.

thesis finds support from Ferishtah who says that the Khaljis are often mentioned in the histories of Ghaznā, and it is certain that they existed anterior to the time of Changiz Khan. But, perhaps, to reconcile himself to Nizāmuddīn's statement he adds that it is likely that Qalij Khan may himself have been of the tribe of the Khaljis, and Jalāluddīn of Delhi and Maḥmūd of Malwa may have descended directly from him.⁴³ Badaonī, on the other hand, vehemently criticises the Qalij Khanī ancestry saying that this theory "has no real authority" . . . "and as a matter of fact there is no connection whatever between Qalij and Khalj."⁴⁴ Both Ferishtah and Badaonī think the second statement of Nizāmuddīn, which mentions Turk, son of Japhet, as the progenitor of the Khaljī race, as the more reasonable. Hājiuddabīr writing about the Khaljis of Malwa says that they were descendants of Qalij Khan, son of Afrāsiyāb, who was son-in-law of Changiz Khan;⁴⁵ but he does not say anything about the ancestry of Jalāluddīn of Delhi.

Baranī's indefiniteness on this issue appears inexplicable. His father and uncle had been in the service of Delhi sultans for a considerable time. He himself was an intimate friend of many an influential government servant. Besides this he had consulted many contemporary and earlier works. He was thus in a position to possess accurate information with regard to the origin of the Khaljis. Therefore, he either deliberately avoided to throw light on this point, or thought it to be a matter of little consequence, or was perhaps unable to ascertain the truth. Anyhow the fact is that he was not conversant with ethnological studies, because he displays a similar vagueness about the origin of the Tughlaqs. But his statements do bear out that the Khaljis were not welcomed by a certain section of the nobles, because they came of a race

⁴³ Ferishtah p. 88.

⁴⁴ Badaoni, Ranking vol. I, p. 230.

⁴⁵ *Zafar ul Vākī* p. 197.

different from that of the Turks. Later historians like Nizāmuddīn, Badaonī and Ferishtah do not advance the position any further. Their statements are based only on legends and not on any definite conclusions of historical research.

A critical study of the subject, however, conclusively points to the Turkish origin of the Khaljis. Khalj is the name given to the land lying on either side of river Helmand in Afghanistan, and the inhabitants of that region were known as Khaljis. Various nomadic tribes had settled in Khalj from very remote times and under such circumstances it is impossible to assert with absolute certainty that the Khaljis belonged to a particular tribe or race. Ibn Haukal, an Arab geographer of the 10th century A.D.⁴⁶ ascribes Turkish origin to the Khaljis. According to him they were settled from the old in the regions between Hindustan and Sijistan, and that "they are rich in cattle and their habits, customs and dress are like those of the Turks."⁴⁷ Many other writers like Istakhārī, the author of Hudūd-ul-‘Ālam and Divān-i-Laughātul Turk also think that the Khaljis were Turks, who from long past resided in Khalj in Afghanistan.⁴⁸ Besides these there is the authority of Fakhruddīn, the author of Tarikh-i-Fakhruddīn Mubārak Shahī who finished his work in 1206 about a century and a half before Baranī's Tarikh was completed. Fakhruddīn gives a list of sixty-four Turkish tribes in which he includes Turk, Ghuz, Khalji, Tatar, Ughus, and Qai etc.⁴⁹ He gives valuable information on Turkish tribes which shows

⁴⁶ Ibn Haukal wrote between 902 and 968 A.D.

⁴⁷ Ibn Haukal; *Kitāb Moujamul Buldān*, Arabic Text, Vol. II p. 419.

J.A.S.B. 1852 p. 368.

J.A.S.B. 1853 p. 152.

⁴⁸ Also see proceedings Indian History Congress 1938, pp. 297-303.

⁴⁹ *Tarikh-i-Fakhruddīn*, edited by Sir Denison Ross, London, p. 47.

that he had intimate knowledge about them. Minhāj Sīrāj, the author of the *Tabqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says that the Khaljīs served in the army of the Khvarizm Shahī emperors of Transoxiana and took part in various wars of Ghaur and Ghazna.⁵⁰ According to Raverty also Khaljīs were not a "hypothetical" tribe as Elliot is inclined to think,⁵¹ but were a Turkish tribe who having inhabited in Afghanistan for a very long time had been so much assimilated with the people of the locality that they were considered more as Afghans than as Turks.⁵² Barthold, one of the greatest modern authorities on Central Asia, also thinks the Khaljīs to be a Turkish tribe, who, as early as the fourth century A.D., had settled in the southern Afghanistan.⁵³

Thus it can safely be concluded that the Khaljīs were Turks, but having been long in residence in Afghanistan had assimilated the habits and customs of that country. Some of them came to India as soldiers in the armies of the conquerors from Ghazna and Ghaur and many more arrived as refugees during Mongol upheaval in Central Asia and Afghanistan. Here they were regarded to be different from the Ilbārī Turks who belonged, so to say, to the blue blood. The sovereignty of Delhi had been the monopoly of the Ilbārī Turks for about a century, and a change of dyansty appeared to the people of Delhi a violent break from the conditions to which they had now adjusted themselves. In other words it is in the conservatism of the populace that we should find an explanation of the surprise at the accession of the Khaljīs, and not in the

⁵⁰ *Tab. Nas.* Raverty, Vol. I, pp. 539-41, and footnotes.

⁵¹ *Elliot* Vol. VIII p. xviii.

⁵² *Tab. Nas.* Raverty; Vol. I pp. li and footnotes on pp. 539-41.

⁵³ *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 875.

racial differences between the Khaljis and the Ilbāris. Both belonged to the same stock.⁵⁴

Importance of the Khaljī Revolution.

The Khaljī Revolution was fraught with far reaching consequences. It not only heralded the advent of a new dynasty: it ushered in an era of ceaseless conquests, of unique experiments in statecraft, and of incomparable literary outburst. In the veins of the Khaljis did not flow the royal blood. They belonged to the proletariat and their accession to power delivered a death-blow to the pseudo-belief that the sovereignty was a monopoly of the privileged. The Khaljī revolt is essentially a revolt of the Indian Muslims against the Turkish hegemony, of those who looked to Delhi, against those who sought inspiration from Ghaur and Ghazna. The revolution resulted in the supercession of a commoner's government over that of the blue-blood's and shocked to their marrow many a high-browed Turk to whom other Musalmans, Indian-born or otherwise, were made of a stuff inferior to their own.

A change of dynasty was not a new thing to the Indian people. The frequent and quite unexpected dynastic revolutions had killed in them all sentiments of goodwill for any house or dynasty; and even if they developed loyalty for some particular house they were never reluctant to transfer it to another, if circumstances so required. Thus the supercession of Khaljis over the Ilbaris was not of much consequence to the people at large.

Neither inheritance, nor election, nor even intrigue had secured the throne to Jalaluddin. It was by a *coup de main* that the throne had passed from the Ilbāris to the Khaljis, and it was through sheer force that they maintained it. Neither the support of the people, nor of the nobility, nor

⁵⁴ Ferishtah clarifies the position when he says:—

بادشاهی از ترکوں کہ غلامان سلاطین غور بودند بسلسلہ
حکیمان انتقال یافت —

even of the clergy was sought. Whatever the Khaljīs did or undid for the country, they at least showed to the Muslim world that the state could not only exist but vigorously function without any religious support,—an unprecedented phenomenon indeed.

What is of striking importance during the regime of the Khaljīs (and especially of 'Alāuddīn) is a continuous series of unprecedented conquests in the annals of Indo-Muslim history. For the first time the Khaljīs carried Muslim arms into the remotest corners of the country. Constitutionally the Khaljīs were empire builders, for they brought to ^{then} knees independent kings at home and kept an eye on defence against external aggression. Had it not been for 'Alāuddīn's prompt and stern measures India would have passed into the hands of the Mughals two centuries earlier than it actually did.

Some of the reforms of 'Alāuddīn, again, are unique experiments in medieval times. They succeeded quite well what ^{if} their success was short lived. But the force that was the mainstay of the Khaljīs proved a canker in their body-politic and a contemporary saint was tempted to declare that "the empire of 'Alāuddīn (the greatest of the Khaljīs) had no stable foundations."

CHAPTER II

JALALUDDIN FIROZ SHAH KHALJI (1290—1296)

Jalāluddīn ascended the throne on the 3rd of Jamādī-us Šānī 689 (13th June 1290)² and assumed the title of Sultan Jalāuddīn Fīroz Shah Khalji.² As stated above he made Kilughari the seat of the government as he dared not enter

¹ *Miftahul Futūh*, Elliot Vol. III p. 536.

T.M.S. Trs. p. 58 has Rabiul Akhīr 689 or April-May 1290. Baranī and Ferishtah have 688 and 687 H. respectively. According to *T.M.S.* Text p. 59 Mu'izzuddīn was murdered in 689 and so also says Badaonī Ranking Vol. I p. 228. Again all the known coins of Shamsuddīn Kaikaūs are dated 689 H. (N. Wright). The earliest known coins of Jalāuddīn are also of 689 H. (*Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta Vol. II no. 175). Thus it is certain that Khusrau's date which is supported by numismatic evidence is correct and Baranī and Ferishtah are wrong.

Also see Thomas: "*Chronicles*" p. 141 note

J.A.S.B. Numismatic Supplement, p. 229.

Lucknow Museum Catalogue no. 177.

² No contemporary historian throws light on the ancestry of Jalāluddīn. Hājiuddabīr describing the Khaljis of Mandu says that Afrasiyāb, a son-in-law of Changīz Khan, had three sons, the youngest of whom was Tolak Khan. Tolak had two sons Nāsiruddīn and Fīroz, the latter of whom served under Balban and seized the throne from the son of Kaiqubād. *Zafarul Vāli* p. 197.

This narrative is legendary.

Beale: *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 137 says that Qaem Khan was the father of Jalāluddīn. The actual name of Jalāluddīn's father is difficult to find. That Jalāl's father held the title of Yoghresh Khan is attested by a number of historians.

T.M.S. p. 57.

Badaonī, Ranking, Vol. I pp. 226, 230. Text, p. 167.

Zafarul Vāli, p. 755.

Delhi. The palace of Mu'izzuddin was completed and decorated with fine carvings and inscriptions. A peerless garden on the banks of the Jumna was added to enhance the beauty of the buildings. The sultan desired the elite of the town to construct spacious mansions there. Markets were opened and the place looked like a "New City."³

A grand darbār was held. The scions of royalty and comrades in arms during the Revolution were meted with royal bounty. Ikh̄tiyāruddīn,⁴ the eldest son of the sultan, obtained the title of Khan-i-Khānān and the districts near about Delhi as fief.⁵ Hisāmuddīn,⁶ the second son was made Arkali Khan and the youngest Qadr Khan. Malik Husain, the sultan's uncle, received the title of Tājulmulk. The two nephews Alāuddīn and Mu'izzuddīn (better known as Almās Bēg) became Amīr-i-Tuzak and Akhūrbeg respectively. Malik Khāmosh,⁷ gained the title of Yoghresh Khan, and the post of Ariz-i-Mumālīk (Minister of War). The Vazārat was confirmed on Khvaja Khaṭīr; he had held this office under Balban and Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubad. The renowned Malikul'umra too continued to hold his post of the Kotvāl of Delhi. The other noblemen who received honours were Malik Aḥmad Chap, who became Naib Barbak, Malik Khurram, who became Vakīl-i-dar and Malik Naṣīruddīn Kuhrāmī, who became Hājib-i-Khās. Malik Fakhruddīn Kūchī was made Dādbēg or dispen-

³ Baranī p. 176. says that Kilughari was given the name of Shahr-i-nau but that is wrong. It was already known as Shahr-i-nau and Minhāj Sirāj speaks of it as such. *Tab. Naṣ.* Text pp. 317, 318.

⁴ *T.M.S.* p. 57 and *Ferishtah* p. 89 give this name.

⁵ *T.M.S.* p. 56.

⁶ *T.M.S.* p. 56 gives this name.

⁷ Iṣāmī and Yahya give his name as خامش and خوش respectively. Jalāluddīn had two brothers Shihāb and Khāmosh. *Futūḥ* p. 220.

⁸ *Zafarul Vālī* p. 755.

ser of justice; Malik Hiranmār, Amīr-i-Shikār; and Malik Naṣīruddīn Ranah, Shahnāh-i-Pīl. Malik A'izzuddīn, another nephew of Jalāluddīn became Akhurbēg-i-Maimna. Some other prominent men like Tājuddīn Kūchī, Malik Kamāluddīn Abdul M'aālī and Malik Nuṣrat Subah also obtained high posts. As time passed the Khalji government gained strength. The kindness of Jalāluddīn won the confidence of the people and visitors from Delhi were very much impressed with the splendour and magnificence of Kilughari. By and by the people of Delhi, willingly or unwillingly, submitted to the new king, and great and small all went out to Kilughari and paid homage to Fīroz Shah.

Character of Jalāluddīn.

The new king's character is clearly reflected in an incident which occurred early in his reign. After Jalāl had been firmly seated on the throne, writes Baranī, he rode one day into Delhi and visited the Red Palace of Balban. The old memories of how he had stood before the throne in years gone by filled his eyes with tears. He got down from his horse at the outer gate of the palace and bowed in obeisance. When Malik Ahmad Chap reminded him that the palace now belonged to him and he should not behave in the way he did, Jalāluddīn burst into tears and remonstrated: "You know that nobody among my ancestors has been a king, so that the pride and dignity of kingship might have been inherited by me. Sultan Balban sat here on the throne and I served him. The awe and dignity of that monarch has not left my breast..... This palace had been built by Balban during his Khanship and it is his property and that of his sons and relatives...."⁹ The

⁹ Baranī p. 178. The discussion between Ahmad Chap and Jalāl is interesting in so far as it raises the issue whether a palace built by a sultan was his private property or that of the state. In fact there was no distinction between the private property of the sultan and the royal exchequer in medieval

old king could not think of sitting on the throne while his colleagues, who, like himself, had served under Balban, remained standing before him. He only took his seat among the nobles and putting his turban to his eyes wept bitterly.¹⁰

The touching scene silenced Ahmad Chap. It also confirmed Jalāluddīn's generosity and kindheartedness. But the strange behaviour of Firoz did not redound to his credit as the master of an empire so recently won in teeth of so great an opposition. On many other occasions, about which mention would be made presently, the sultan behaved most tactlessly. Both his age and his temperament were responsible for his extreme gentleness. The only punishment he could inflict upon robbers was to send them to some distant place. The only way in which he could castigate rebellious nobles was to cry in their presence and drink with them to remove all cause of misunderstanding. The king was incapable of harbournig any ill-will. Two persons, Sirājuddīn Sāvi and Manda Ahīr, had given him some cause of resentment during his Khanship. They began to despair of their lives when they heard he had become king. They came to the king, their heads hanging low, their faces all repentence. To the utter surprise of everybody present the sultan not only pardoned them for their misconduct in the past but rewarded them profusely. Sometimes the old king behaved like a child. Once he was tempted to add the title of Almujāhid fi Sabīlullah (The Fighter in the Way of God) to his name. Any other sultan would have done so without creating any fuss. Jalāuddīn, however, asked Malika-i-Jahān to instruct the barons to suggest to him to do so in open court. But when they actually did so Firoz at once confessed to them that he himself was responsible for

times. The whole country belonged to him. But here Jalāl emphasises the point that the palace was built by Balban when he was a nobleman and not king, and, therefore, it was his private property. The emperor was right in his assertion.

¹⁰ Baranī p. 179.

that request and refused to take the title. Such a tactless sovereign was surely a misfit on the throne of Delhi. How Jalāluddīn fell a victim to his nephew's treachery forms one of the most tragic episodes of medieval history. Never was a man more unsuited to wear the crown than the founder of the Khaljī dynasty. To him kingship was a fraud and its magnificence a few days' unstable splendour.¹¹ He actually cursed his enemies not so much for plotting against him as for compelling him to strive for the throne.¹² Careless of fame, he was content with the status of a nobleman than that of the king, for the former was free from all turmoil.

Failure as a king, Firoz was a perfect gentleman and one of the most pious Musalmans of his times. Fortune as well as merit had raised him to the highest pinnacle of greatness, still his elevation had not made him proud. God-fearing and indulgent, affectionate to his family and affectionate to all, he behaved with his nobles not as a king but as a friend. Jalāl's span of kingship was short but he had ruled his subjects as a father in a family. He declared himself incapable of tyranny. If his simplicity and his kindness were ridiculed by the worldly people, his age and benevolence were revreded by all.

Refractory element was not slow to take advantage of his leniency. Plots began to be hatched against the crown in and outside the capital, and only a couple of months after Jalāluddīn's accession Malik Chhajjū rose in open revolt.

The Revolt of Malik Chhajjū (1290).

It was Sh'abān 689 (August-September 1290)¹³ that Malik Chhajjū Kishli Khan, governor of Kara, unfurled the standard of revolt. Lack of initiative on the part of Jalālud-

¹¹ *Baranī* p. 179.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 179.

¹³ *T.M.S.* p. 63.

dīn as well as the support that had been promised to him, encouraged him to try to wrest the throne of his forefathers. A large number of Rāvats and Paiks had flocked to his standard. Amīr 'Alī Sarjandār, governor of Avadh, had lent him unflinching support and even a number of Jalālī Amīrs like Malik Tajuddīn Kūchī, Malik Muḥammad Qutluḡh Khan and Malik Nuṣrat Subaḥ were not lacking in sympathy for him. A section of the nobility and populace of Delhi also considered him a rightful claimant to the throne on account of his relationship with the late Ghayāsuddīn Balban. Malik Chhajjū therefore declared independence, assumed the title of sultan Muḡhīuddīn, struck coins and got the Khutbāh read in his name. He collected a large force and advanced upon Delhi.

The news of this formidable revolt lashed Jalāluddīn into action. He appointed his eldest son Khan-i-Khānūn as vice-regent at Kilughari and himself marched out to crush the rebellion. After crossing the Jumna he divided his troops. One portion of the army was sent in advance under the command of Arkalī Khan¹⁴ and the other proceeded under his own command about ten of twelve kos behind his son's.¹⁵

By forced marches Arkalī Khan arrived on river Kalaib-nagar, Kālī Nahar of the modern maps.¹⁶ The enemy had

¹⁴ According to Hājī-uddabīr Arkalī was given the command of 12,000 troops *Zafar ul Vālī* p. 755.

¹⁵ Ferishtah p. 90.

¹⁶ Baranī calls it آب کلاب نگر. Amīr Khusrau, Yahya and Badaonī call it Rahāb. In all probability it is the present Kālī Nahar which joins the Ganga near Kanauj. It would have been unwise on the part of Malik Chhajjū to march north of the Ganga from Kara to cross after some distance both the Ganga and the Jumna to strike at Delhi. He surely marched from Kara on a route in between the two rivers. The river on which the battles were fought cannot, therefore, be Ramganga, as some writers have suggested. Hājī calls this river کلاٹ ک *kalat* means a castle on the top of mountain. Elliot, Vol. III p. 138, (note) gives the meaning of Kalaib nagar as a natural stronghold.

already reached the other bank and had seized the boats lying on the river. In spite of this initial precaution of Chhajjū Arkalī Khan managed to cross Kālī Nahar, which was then in spate, and fell upon the enemy. The "rice-eating" Hindustani foot-soldiers, who formed the advance compains of the rebel were taken by surprise and completely routed. Malik Chhajjū fled towards Chupala.¹⁷ The imperial troops plundered his camp for two whole days and then started in his pursuit. Soon they overtook him and Chhajjū was compelled to give battle. During the engagement the centre of the army was commanded by Arkalī Khan himself. He was helped by his two cousins 'Alāuddīn and Qutlagh Tighīn,¹⁸ the latter of whom could "split a spear with an arrow." The right and left wings were put under the charge of Mīr Mubarak and Malik Muḥammad respectively.¹⁹ Malik Chhajjū rallied his scattered troops and fought a desperate battle which lasted for a whole day and "during which the sword found no rest." At night when Chhajjū heard that the sultan was himself coming to join Arkalī Khan his heart gave way. He fled away "concealing his departure by the beating of drums, as if he was preparing to renew the combat on the morrow." The remnant of his troops sought refuge in unconditional surrender. They were pardoned.

It was Bairam Deva Koela, Raja of Koel (Aligarh), who had informed Malik Chhajjū that the army of the sultan was about to join that of the prince and the rebel had escaped unscathed for a second time. Arkalī Khan was very much enraged at the behaviour of the Raja. He recrossed the Kālī Nahar and attacked Aligarh. Bairam Deva was killed in a

¹⁷ Khusrau has Jubala *Miftāḥul Futūḥ* Elliot, Vol. III p. 538. It was a Mahāl in Sarkar Badaon in Delhi Šubāh. See *Ain-i-Akbari*, Trs. Vol. II p. 290. Elliot Vol. V. p. 507.

¹⁸ He was younger to Almās Beg. *Futūḥ* p. 220.

¹⁹ *Miftāḥul Futūḥ* Elliot Vol. III p. 538.

fight and Arkalī began the pursuit of Chhajjū once again.²⁰ At last Malik Chhajjū was captured from a fortress in which he had taken refuge. Flushed with victory Arkalī Khan returned to his father.

Sultan Jalāluddīn after sending the vanguard under Arkalī had for some time followed him closely behind. He had then proceeded towards Bhojpur in Farukkhabad district on the western side of the Ganga. After staying there for some time he had crossed the Ganga and ruthlessly punished some Hindus in the land of Kabar (modern Rohilkhand). On his return to Badaon he was joined by Arkalī Khan. The sultan was very much pleased at the brilliant achievements of his son and appointed him governor of Multau. He held a court to deliver judgement on the rebels when he was horrified to see Malik Chhajjū and other great Maliks like Amīr ‘Alī Sarjāndār, Malik Alghachi, son of Malik Targhi, and Malik Tājvard being brought before him in fetters and chains, their heads hanging low, their garments soiled. He ordered the prisoners to be unfettered, bathed, and dressed in clean garments. The ungrateful rebels hung their heads in shame when they pondered how treacherous they had been to such a good king. To the astonishment of the countries, however, Jalāluddīn consoled and cheered them up, saying that they had acted rightly in supporting a prince of the dynasty they had served in the past.²¹ He treated them with exemplary kindness and offered them cups of wine as if they were his guests. Ahmad Chap did not fail to remind the king that it was contrary to the principles of good government to treat the rebels with such generosity. Such a treatment would tempt many others to try for the throne and create fresh trouble.²² The king’s reply was

²⁰ Badaonī writes on the authority of Yahya.
T.M.S. pp. 63-64.

²¹ Baranī pp. 183-84.

²² *Ibid.* p. 184.

short and simple. "Oh Ahmad, I also know what kings have done to the rebels (in the past). But I am an old Musalman and am not habituated to shedding the blood of the Musalmans. I am now past seventy and have not killed a single Muḥadi (believer in the Oneness of God)." ²³ In short the rebels escaped scot free. Malik Chhajjū was sent to Multan where every comfort was provided for him. His fief of Kara was given to the charge of 'Alāuddīn. The trouble having ended the sultan was back in Kilughari on the last day of Muḥarram 690 (2nd February 1291). ²⁴

Crimes and conspiracies.

At the capital Jalaluddin engaged himself in internal administration. He was so disinclined to cause pain that many times thieves and Thugs were seized and brought before him but he set them free on promise that they would not commit theft again. On one occasion more than a thousand Thugs were captured. ²⁵ But in place of punishing them severely the king ordered that they should be carried in boats to Lakhnauti and be left there, lest they should continue to harass the countryside (of Delhi). ²⁶

The treatment meted out to the partisans of Chhajjū and the Thugs encouraged some enterprising barons to indulge in loose talk at convivial parties. The sultan even got an inkling of the affair but overlooked it saying that the people who

²³ *Ibid.* p. 185.

²⁴ *Miftahul Futūḥ*, Elliot Vol. III p. 540.

²⁵ Baranī has هزار و اند قهگ *Tab. Akb.* has 1,000 and uses the word قطاع الطريق As Hodivālā (p. 266) aptly remarks "This is perhaps the earliest reference in Muslim historical literature to the "Thugs" in the specific sense which the word has now acquired." It is here not used in the general signification of a cheat or swindler but for a peculiar class of highway robbers.

²⁶ Baranī pp. 189-90.

planned under the spell of intoxication should not be taken seriously. One of these days a grand drinking party was held at Malik Tājuddīn Kūchī's, a nobleman of some consequence. As the cups went round, some one opined that the Khaljīs were a worthless lot with the possible exception of Aḥmad Chap.²⁷ At least Jalāluddīn was quite unfit to rule, and the crown would well adorn the head of Malik Tājuddīn Kūchī. They all swore allegiance to their host, one promising to kill the sultan with a hunting knife, another with a sword. When the intelligence of the incident reached Jalāluddīn he sent for them and reprimanded them severely. Taking out his sword he threw it before them saying, "If any one of you is man enough he shall take up this sword and come face to face with me." The tension of the situation was relieved by the sweet-tongued Nuṣrat Subāh, the Sardāvūtdār, who himself had uttered some nonsense at the meeting. He told the sultan that they could never think of plotting against a king who was so dignified, generous and patient, and who treated them almost as his own sons; nor should he think of their destruction as he could not find such faithful and loyal Maliks and Malikzādās such as they. The king was silenced, his anger was subsided, and he pardoned them all but for a token punishment to some.²⁸

Conspiracy of Sīdī Maula (February-March 1291).²⁹

These tall talks under a fit of drunkenness were nothing compared to the organised conspiracy of some noblemen under the eegis of one Sīdī Maula. Sīdī had first come from Persia to Ajodhan in the service of Shaikh Farīduddīn

²⁷ Ibid. p. 190.

²⁸ Baranī p. 192.

²⁹ Jalāluddīn returned after crushing Chhajjū's revolt on 2nd February 1291 and started for Ranthambhor on March 22nd 1291. According to almost all historians the Sīdī Maula episode occurred between these two events.

Shakargunj.³⁰ According to Ferishtah Sidi was a Darvesh (saint) and had come to Delhi in the beginning of Balban's reign. He recited the Namāz but never visited the Jama' Masjid and did not pray in congregation. He practised great austerity, ate frugally and denied himself all the pleasures of the senses.³¹ He led the life of celibacy and kept no maid-servant or slave. He did not accept anything from the people but spent so lavishly that they suspected him of possessing knowledge of alchemy and natural magic (*Kīmyā va Sīmyā*). He built a great *Khānqāh* at Ajod Gate³² where people flocked from all quarters. He used to pay for what he bought by the queer way of telling the man to take such and such amount from under such and such brick or coverlet, and the *tanukahs* found there looked so bright as if they had been brought from the mint that very moment.³³ So many people dined at Sidi's table every day that if Barani is to be believed two thousand *man* of flour (*maida*), five hundred *man* of meat and an equal quantity of *ghī* (*roghan*), two to three hundred *man* of sugar and a hundred to two hundred *man* of vegetables used to be consumed in his kitchen every day. So much money was spent and so many kinds of dishes were served at the monastery as even the greatest nobles could not afford.³⁴

This finds corroboration in the fact that the plot was discovered and suppressed after *Khan-i-Khanā's* death and according to Badaoni he died shortly after Chhajjū's revolt.

³⁰ Badaoni, Ranking vol. I p. 233.

³¹ Ferishtah p. 92.

³² *Zafrul Vāli* p. 763. Hajī-uddabīr writes on the authority of *Tabqāt-i-Bahadur Shāhi* of Husām *Khan*.

³³ Barani p. 209.

³⁴ Barani p. 209. Badaoni Ranking vol. I p. 234, gives a story according to which Jalāluddīn once went in disguise

The activities of Sidi showed beyond doubt that he was not a saint in the real sense. He aspired for name and fame and honour. He freely associated with Amirs and Maliks and flirted with politics. When he was leaving Ajodhan for Delhi, Shikh Farid, cognizant of Sidi's nature, had warned him against seeking name and renown or associating too much with noblemen. During Balban's strict rule it was not possible for him to spend recklessly and openly give "five thousand or ten thousand *tankahs* to reliable men." With the coming of the weak and licentious Mu'izzuddin, Sidi's expenses knew no bounds and he began to attract people. During Jalaluddin's reign the congregations began to swell in numbers and great and small, nobles and commoners, began to pay him homage. Even Khan-i-Khanan, the eldest son of the king, become his disciple. The fact appears to be that since Jalaluddin was past seventy and could die any week, his two elder sons had set their hearts on the throne and tried to strengthen their position even while the king was alive. Thus two parties seem to have been formed at the capital,—one under Khan-i-Khanan, who associated himself with Sidi and the other under Arkali, who naturally turned hostile to the saint.³⁵ So openly was Khan-i-Khanan drawn towards Sidi that the latter used to address him as his son,³⁶ and there is every reason to think that Khan-i-Khanan financed the establishment of Sidi Maula. The Turkish Amirs who had not forgotten their enmity with the Khaljis also flocked to Sidi's Khanqah. Jalaluddin's kindness indirectly encourage the underground activities of these people. Qazi Jalal Kashani, a very influential and intriguing man³⁷ closely attached himself

to Sidi's monastery and saw for himself that he expended even more than was reported.

³⁵ Ferishtah p. 93.

³⁶ Barani, p. 209.

³⁷ Ferishtah, p. 93, says

حلال الدین کا شانی کہ مرد فتنہ انگیز و از اعیان باشاہ بود۔

to Sīdī Maula and used to pass days and nights with him. Kotvāl Biranj and Hathiya Pāik, the latter of whom was a well reputed wrestler and now had fallen on bad days, joined Sīdī. Some other nobles who had lost their jagīrs and stipends under the Khaljis also began to frequent the Khān-qāh of Sīdī. Soon the number of his followers reached the staggering figure of 10,000.³⁸

As time passed people were not slow to understand that the nocturnal meetings of Qazī Jalāl Qāshānī, Qazī Urdu,³⁹ and many others at Sīdī Maula's mansion one day would surely bring about some trouble. Kotvāl Biranjtan and Hathiya Pāik even planned an open revolt and decided to assault sultan Jalāluddīn on a Friday when he went to Jama' Masjid for prayers. After finishing Jalāluddīn their plan was to declare Sīdī as Khalifa and marry him to a daughter of sultan Naṣiruddīn. Qazī Jalāl Qāshānī was to receive the title of Qazī Khan and the jagir of Multan. Jagīrs and offices were to be distributed among the sons of the nobility of Balban. As generally happens one of the persons present there turned approver and plainly told the sultan of all that had transpired at Sīdī's place.⁴⁰ All the conspirators were instantly arrested, beaten and fettered, and then dragged to the presence of the king.⁴¹ The more Jalāluddīn asked them to make confessions the more they professed their innocence. It was not the custom in those days to extort confession by torture,⁴² and

³⁸ Ibid p. 93.

³⁹ Badaonī, Ranking vol. I p. 234.

⁴⁰ It appears that the death of Khan-i-Khanān about this time had weakened the party. Ferishtah, however, leaves the impression that he died after Sīdī's execution. Ferishtah, p. 94.

⁴¹ Badaonī, Ranking vol. I p. 234.

⁴² Baranī p. 211. Here the historian most probably compares the days of 'Alāuddīn when torture was commonly practised.

therefore, it was decided to test their veracity by ordeal of fire. A fierce fire was lighted at Bahārpur and the king proceeded there accompanied by his nobles and the accused. All the learned and important men of the city assembled there, and the people of Bahārpur only added to the crowd. The sultan ordered that the accused should be made to sit in the fire and if they were truthful they would escape unscathed. But the 'Ulamā dissented. Ordeal by fire, argued the jurists, was contrary to reason and forbidden by law. The quality of fire was to burn, and it made no distinction between the guilty and not-guilty. Moreover Sīdī and his henchmen could not be declared guilty since the accusation levelled against them by only one man had not been confirmed by witnesses.⁴³

The persistent refusal of the accused to confess anything exasperated the sultan. There was no way of proving their guilt, but to all appearances a conspiracy had been hatched and Jalāluddīn was determined to punish the offenders. Qāzī Jalāl Kāshānī was transferred as Qāzī of Badaon. The sons of nobles understood to be partisans in the clique were exiled to various places and their property was confiscated. Biranjtan and Hathiya Pūk, who had taken the responsibility of killing the king were severely punished. Sīdī Maula, fettered and chained, was brought before the king. His very presence threw Jalāl into a rage and he addressed Shaikh Abu Bakr Tūsī of the Haidri order, who was present there with his disciples, to avenge him of Sīdī Maula. Bahri, a follower of the order, attacked Sīdī with a razor⁴⁴ and hamstinged him. They shaved off his whiskers to the chin and stabbed him in the side with a sack-makers needle. Meanwhile Arkālī Khan

⁴³ Baranī p. 211.

⁴⁴ The order of the Haidri Qalandars was founded by Shaikh Najmuddin Tūsī. The Qalandars shave off their head and face and even eye-brows. It is, therefore, customary with them to keep a razor. Consequently Bahri was able to whip out a razor and attack Sīdī.

who entertained ideas of hostility towards Sīdī beckoned to an elephant driver who drove the animal over the victim and crushed him to death.

The death of Sīdī Maula was too much for an orthodox Maulana like Zīyāuddin Baranī to stand. He had visited the Shaikh a number of times and had had the privilege of dining at his mansion.⁴⁵ Therefore he associates some unpleasant happenings to such an unjust execution. According to him on the day of the Shaikh's death a black wind-storm covered the sky and from that day the Jalālī government lost its stability. Shortly after, the rains stopped. Delhi witnessed one of the most terrible famines. The price of grains rose to a *ser* a *tankah* and the people forgot the taste of bread.⁴⁶ Peasants⁴⁷ of Sivalik flocked into Delhi and in batches of twenty or thirty flung themselves into the Jumna. The sultan and his nobles tried their utmost to ameliorate the distress but could do little.⁴⁸ Next year so heavy were the rains that people hardly remembered ever to have witnessed the like of them. It was only after constant prayers that conditions became normal in about two years' time.⁴⁹

The closing remarks of Baranī lead one to the inference that Sīdī was unjustly punished and died a martyr's death. But that is not so. It is true that the sentence of death was hastily awarded and a thorough inquiry was not made, but that a conspiracy was hatched against the sultan in which Sīdī was seriously implicated is clearly attested in the narrative of Baranī himself. The revolt of Malik Chhajjū, the gauntlets thrown at Malik Tājuddin's, and the open talks that Jalāluddin was a misfit on the throne, had sufficiently

⁴⁵ Baranī p. 209.

⁴⁶ *Futūh*. p. 212.

⁴⁷ Baranī has Hindus.

⁴⁸ *Futūh*. p. 212.

⁴⁹ *Futūh*. p. 213.

exasperated the sultan. Following upon these came the blood-curdling conspiracy, in which Jalāluddīn was to be killed, Sīdī was to marry a royal princess and become Khalīfā. No other king would have tolerated all that happened at Sīdī's for months together. The politician-cum-saint would have received the same doom at the hands of any other king. Jalāluddīn was quite justified in ordering Sīdī's execution.⁵⁰

Abortive Expedition to Ranthambhor (1291 A.D.).

Soon after Sīdī's execution sultan Jalāluddīn marched with a large force towards the fortress of Ranthambhor⁵¹ on Thursday 18th Rabiul Awwal 690 (22nd March 1291).⁵² Since Ikhtiyāruddīn Khan-i-Khanān, the eldest son of the sultan had died, Jalāluddīn left his second son Arkali Khan as viceroy (naib) at Kilughari.⁵³ The king left Sīrī for Lohravat⁵⁴ and proceeded to Chandaval⁵⁵ where he stayed for some time. In

⁵⁰ According to Yahya, three days after Sīdī's death a pit 10 yards (gaz) long and three yards wide was dug out and a great fire kindled for the purpose of throwing into it the remaining adherents of the Maula. But Arkali Khan interposed on their behalf and they were released.

T.M.S. p. 67.

It is quite probable. Arkali's staunch enemy having been executed no useful purpose could have been served by killing his followers.

⁵¹ For the situation of the fortress see chapter viii note 8.

⁵² This is the date of Amīr Khusrau, *Elliot*, vol. III p. 540. *Oriental College Magazine* Lahore, Text, November 1936 p. 28. Baranī wrongly has 689.

⁵³ *Baranī* p. 213.

⁵⁴ *Elliot* vol. III p. 540 wrongly has Sohrat. *Oriental College Magazine* Text of *Miftāhul Futūh*, Nov. 1936, p. 28, correctly has Lohravat. The village then lying to the west of Sīrī is not traceable now. It was here that Nāsiruddīn Khusrau lost the throne to Ghazī Tughlaq in 1320.

⁵⁵ It lay south-west of Delhi on the road to the Deccan.

two more marches they reached Rewari⁵⁶ lying about fifty miles south west of Delhi. The march was continued and they arrived at Narnaul a town lying south west of Rewari. They crossed the sandy tracts of Rajputana where "the people had their mouths shut through thirst and a hundred camels were laden with water to satisfy the necessities of the army." After a fortnight's march they arrived on the borders of Ranthambhor. A reconnoitring party was sent in advance to collect information while the soldiers busied themselves in plundering the neighbourhood of Jhain.⁵⁷ During these operations the Turks used poisoned arrows and killed many.⁵⁸

It was then decided to attack the city of Jhain itself. A force of 1,000 strong was despatched under officers like Malik Khurram; Malik Qutlagh Tighin; Azam Mubarak, Amīr of Narnaul; Ahmad Sarjandār; Maḥmūd Sarjandār; the chief huntsman Ahmad; and Abaji Akhūrbeg. Alarm soon spread in Jhain. The Rai sent one Gurdan Saini with a force of 10,000 Ravats to check the advance of the Turks. Gurdan Saini was a great general and had led several expeditions into the country of Malwa and Gujarat.⁵⁹ But after a severe engagement he was killed and the Hindus fled pell-mell.⁶⁰ The chieftain of Jhain took shelter in the hills of Ranthambhor and three days after this signal victory Jalāluddīn entered Jhain. He greatly admired the beautiful figures, carvings

⁵⁶ It was the *jagīr* of Malik Naib during the reign of 'Alāuddīn.

⁵⁷ *Mif. Fut. Elliot*, vol. III p. 541.

Or. Col. Mag. Nov. 1936 p. 29.

For the location of Jhain see chapter VIII note 12

⁵⁸ تیر زهر آلوده *Mif. Fut. O. C. Mag.* 1936, p. 31.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 33-34.

⁶⁰ "But only one man was killed among the royal troops." *Ibid.* p. 34.

Here the poet-historian indulges in gross exaggeration.

and exquisite colours on stone and wood in the Raja's palace. He also visited the temples ornamented with elaborate work in gold and silver. But his aesthetic tastes were overshadowed by his iconoclastic fervour. He ordered their destruction and thus "made a hell of paradise."⁶¹ Two large bronze images of Brahma, each weighing "more than a thousand *man*," were broken into pieces and the fragments were distributed among officers for throwing them at the gates of Jama' Masjid at Delhi.⁶² A plundering party was despatched under Maḥmūd Sarjandār to sack Malwa also, after crossing the rivers Chambal and Kuwari.⁶³ The expedition was a success. Temples were destroyed and the royalists returned with plunder and loot.⁶⁴

The Rana of Ranthambhor,⁶⁵ says Baranī, together with the Rais and Muqaddams and their families shut themselves up in the fort and prepared to stand a siege. Jalāluddīn ordered construction of war engines like Maghrabi, Sabāt and Gargach⁶⁶ to encircle the fort. He proceeded to Ranthambhor to reconnoitre the fort personally but returned to Jhain the same day. He plainly told his officers that he would not be able to capture it.⁶⁷ A large number of soldiers would be killed even in raising a *pashīb* and constructing *gargach* and

⁶¹ Elliot vol. III, p. 542.

Or. Col. Mag. Nov. 1936 pp. 35-38.

Also *Baranī*, p. 213.

⁶² Elliot, vol. III p. 542.

Futūḥ pp. 216-17.

⁶³ *O. C. Mag.* Feb. 1937, Text of *Mif. Fut.* pp. 38-39.

Baranī p. 213.

⁶⁴ *Ferishtah* p 94.

⁶⁵ He was Hammīra, who ascended in 1283 and was killed fighting 'Alā'uddīn.

⁶⁶ For these appliances of war see chapter VIII note 14.

⁶⁷ *Baranī*, p. 213.

the sultan was not prepared to waste so many lives nor dared he see face to face the widows and orphans of the dead. The strange argument of the sultan prompted Malik Ahmad Chap to waste some lessons on statecraft. "Whenever a conqueror has determined on some expedition no consideration had deflected him from attaining his object. If Your Majesty returns without taking the citadel, the Raja of this place will become proud and your kingly dignity will be lowered in the breasts of men."⁶⁸ But the non-virile sultan had made up his mind to return. Boasting that "he did not value even ten such forts above a single hair of a Musalman,"⁶⁹ he struck the camp and arrived at the capital on the 3rd of Jamadiul Akhir 690 (June 2, 1291).⁷⁰

*Mongol invasion 1292.*⁷¹

The disgraceful retreat from Ranthambhor was followed by another disaster. In 691 H.⁷² (1291-92 A.D.) 'Abdullah, a grandson⁷³ of Halāku Khan of Persia, advanced with a force of 150,000 Mughals.⁷⁴ On receiving the news sultan Jalāl-

⁶⁸ Baranī, pp. 214, 215.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 213.

⁷⁰ *Miftahul Futūh O. C. Mag.* Feb., 1937 p. 39.

Elliot vol. III p. 543.

⁷¹ The account of this invasion by 'Isāmī is misleading. He puts it in the beginning of Jalāl's reign and says that Malik Khāmosh and not the king commanded the Indian army. *Futūh*. pp. 203-08.

⁷² Baranī p. 218.

⁷³ Baranī has "عبدالله نبيه هلولعين *nabshah* means a relation, a grandson. Hallu is surely a mistake for Halāku conqueror of Persia and grandson of Changīz.

⁷⁴ Baranī, p. 218, has ten to fifteen *tumans*. Ferishtah p. 94, has ten *tumans*. A *tuman* consisted of 10,000 horse.

uddin marched out of the capital to encounter the Mughals.⁷⁵ By forced marches he arrived on the confines of Sannam,⁷⁶ where the Mongol vanguard had already arrived. The river Sindh separated the two armies and preparations to fight a decisive battle were made on both sides.⁷⁷ Meanwhile small skirmishes were desultorily fought between detached parties of the rival forces in which the enemy was worsted.⁷⁸ One day a portion of the Mongol army crossed the river and joined in a fearful battle with the royal vanguard. According to Baranī the enemy was completely defeated and a large number of them were slain. About a thousand Mongol officers, commanders of a hundred horse (Amīrān-i-Sadah), fell into the hands of the Indian army. About this time negotiations for a truce were started and after some formalities a meeting was arranged between ‘Abdullah and Jalāluddīn. They met on terms of cordiality and presents were exchanged on both sides. ‘Abdullah returned to his native land but Alghu, or Ulugh Khan, who was also related to Changīz, together with some high officers remained in this country and accepted Islam. Jalāluddīn married one of his daughters to Alghu and he and his 4,000 adherents⁷⁹ came with their families to the capital

⁷⁵ According to ‘Iṣāmī the Indian army consisted of 30,000 horse. *Futūḥ* p. 206.

⁷⁶ Baranī has برام, Ferishtah هرا and Ḥajiuddabīr, following on Baranī has برام. But in all probability it is Sannam on the north west frontier. ‘Iṣāmī also has Barrām and says that the engagement was fought near river Sindh. *Futūḥ* p. 205.

Badaonī, has Sanām, Ranking vol. I p. 236.

⁷⁷ The Indians were always on the defensive. Either on account of fear or for a point of strategy Indians never took to offensive in fighting the Mughals. Even the war-lord ‘Alāuddīn never attacked the mongols first.

⁷⁸ Baranī, also Ferishtah p. 94.

⁷⁹ Ferishtah p. 94.

city. They were granted facilities and allowances by the king. They fixed their colonies in Ghayāspur, Indarpat, Kilughari and Taluka,⁸⁰ which were known as Mughalpura.⁸¹ They mixed up with the people of the country and came to be known as neo-Muslims.⁸²

The narrative of Baranī leaves the impression on the reader's mind that the Mongols lost against the royalists and were granted a treaty by the king. But the fact is that Jalāluddīn had not dared face the 150,000 Mongols in a major encounter and had hurried to make a settlement, giving the Mongols very favourable terms. True, he had defeated the Mongols on many former occasions but in his old age he had lost all vigour and virility and during the seven years of his rule he was an extreme pacifist.

Some minor campaigns of Jalāluddīn (1292-95)

The Mongol trouble having concluded, Jalāluddīn turned his attention to state affairs. He gave the governorship of Lahore, Multan and Sindh to Arkali Khan⁸³ ostensibly to check the Mongols. About the end of 691 H. (1292 A.D.) he led two minor campaigns and was successful at both. First he advanced on Mandor⁸⁴ and took it in the very first assault. He pillaged its environs and returned with a large amount of booty. His second attack was directed against Jhain which he had once before raided during his march to Ranthambhor.

⁸⁰ All these lay in the suburbs of Delhi and on the west bank of the Jumna. Indarpat was in north, Kilughari in middle and Ghayāspur in south. In Ghayaspur lies the tomb of Nizāmuddīn Aulia. Taluka (تلوكة) cannot be identified.

⁸¹ Mughalpura is still the name of a village near Delhi and is indicated in the map prefixed to Thomas: *Chronicles*. According to Badaonī Ghayāspur and Mughalpura are synonymous, Ranking vol. I p. 236.

⁸² Baranī p. 219.

⁸³ Ferishtah p. 94.

⁸⁴ *Tab. Akb.*, wrongly has Mandu.

These victories of Jalāluddīn were followed by a brilliant feat of 'Alāuddīn at Bhilsa and then at Devagīri. The last days of Jalāluddīn were eclipsed by the brilliant achievements of 'Alāuddīn in south India, who henceforward played the chief role in the arena of Indian history.

CHAPTER III

‘ALĀUDDĪN AS PRINCE (1290-1296)

Early Life

‘Alāuddīn, also known as ‘Alī or Garshāsp, was a son of Shihābuddīn Mas‘aūd Khaljī, a brother of Jalāluddīn.¹ Shihābuddīn had four sons—‘Alī, Almās Bēg, Qutluḡ Taghīn and Muḥammad.² We have some knowledge of the later life of ‘Alī (‘Alāuddīn) and Almās Bēg, but hardly any of the other two others. Qutluḡ Taghīn has only once been mentioned as having fought against Malik Chhajjū.³ Muḥammad was the father of Sulaimān, otherwise known as Ikat Khan.⁴ It appears that Shihābuddīn had died quite a long time before Jalāluddīn’s accession because he is not even once mentioned in the history of the latter’s reign, and also because his eldest son ‘Alī was brought up under the affectionate care of his uncle Jalāluddīn.⁵

The details of ‘Alāuddīn’s childhood and youth are buried in obscurity. It is strange indeed that the chroniclers never cared to write about the early life of a prince whose brilliant career marks him out as one of the greatest personalities of Medieval India. No contemporary historian gives the date of ‘Alāuddīn’s birth. Only Ḥajīuddabīr (an early seven-

¹ Not much known about him except that he was a brave warrior (*Deval Rani* p. 54) and that like his brother Jalāl he also had been in the service of Balban.

² *Futūḥ*. p. 220.

³ *Miftāḥul Futūḥ*, Elliot, III, p. 538.

⁴ ‘Iṣāmī and Ferishta mention both the name and the title. Baranī mentions only the title of Ikat Khān.

⁵ Baranī p. 234, Ferishta p. 89.

teenth century historian) says that 'Alāuddīn was thirty four years of age when he marched out to the conquest of Ranthambhor⁶ (1300-1301). If this date be taken to be correct, 'Alāuddīn was born about the year 1266-67. As a child he does not appear to have received regular lessons in reading and writing. But in his youth he had been given sufficient training in the use of arms, riding and other sports. His early victories clearly indicate his having received excellent training in swordsmanship and other manly exercises.

'Alāuddīn gave a good account of himself during the *Khaljī coup d'etat*.⁷ On Jalāluddīn's accession 'Alāuddīn, who was nephew as well as son-in-law of the sultan, was appointed Master of Ceremonies (Amīr-i-Tuzuk)⁸ while his younger brother Almas Beg, to whom another daughter of the sultan was married, was made Master of the Horse (Akhūrbēg).⁹ Within a short time of his elevation 'Alāuddīn made a singular exhibition of his military talents in the campaign against Malik Chhājū. The trouble soon put down, but the incident brightened the future prospects of 'Alāuddīn. He was appointed governor of Kara (1291).

'Alāuddīn in Kara (1291-96).

This appointment proved to be a turning point in the prince's career. At Kara the conditions were far from peaceful. No doubt Malik Chhājū's revolt had been crushed, but not so the spirit of the disaffected Amīrs. They regarded

⁶ *Zafar-ul Vāli* p. 785.

⁷ Vide Chapter I.

⁸ So has Baranī. The author of *T.M.S.* says that he was appointed Akhūrbeg-i-Maimna. Ferishtah simply says that 'Alāuddīn was admitted into the corps of high class nobles.

⁹ Baranī does not say when the princesses were married to 'Alāuddīn and Almas Beg. Ferishtah (p. 89) says that they were married after Jalāluddīn had settled down in Kilughari. 'Iṣāmī (*Futūḥ*, p. 231) calls 'Alāuddīn the elder son-in-law.

Jalāluddīn as a usurper and a weakling, and one, who with a little organised effort could easily be removed from the throne. They had been at the back of Chhajjū's revolt, and now suggested to the new governor in the very year of his arrival in Kara, the possibility of recruiting a large army and making a bid for the throne. They also emphasised that money was very essential for that purpose; because the rebellion of Malik Chhajjū had failed for want of sufficient resources in gold and silver.

'Alāuddīn's Domestic unhappiness.

This tempting advice did not fall upon deaf ears. 'Alāuddīn himself thirsted for a diversion from the miseries of an unhappy home. Eversince his marriage with Jalāluddīn's daughter, he had not been happy with her. As a royal princess she tried to dominate over her husband. The sudden rise of her father had made her exceedingly vain. Her impudence greatly distressed 'Alāuddīn but he was averse to bringing the disobedience of his wife before the sultan. All the same he smarted under a sense of humiliation¹⁰ and used to consult his associates how to end his troubles. Hājīuddabīr elucidates the cause of misunderstanding between 'Alāuddīn and his consort. He says that 'Alāuddīn had two wives,—one, the daughter of the sultan, and the other Māhrū, a sister of Malik Sanjar, later known as Alp Khan. Intelligence of the fact that 'Alāuddīn had another wife enraged the king's daughter and she began to pry into the affairs of her husband.¹¹ One day when the

¹⁰ *Futūḥ* p. 221.

¹¹ *Zafar ul Vāli* has **الزوجة** for Māhrū. It is really strange how, if Māhrū was a wedded wife, Jalāluddīn's daughter had no previous knowledge of the fact. Later events, however, clearly show that Māhrū was legally married to 'Alāuddīn. At his accession she became the chief queen, Malka-i-Jahān, and her son Khizr Khan was declared heir-apparent.

amorous couple were *tête-à-tête* in a garden, Jalāluddīn's daughter arrived on the scene and began to belabour Māhrū with her sandal. 'Alāuddīn could hardly bear this insult and in a fit of violence he assaulted his uncle's daughter with his sword but luckily she escaped only with a few minor injuries.¹²

This incident was duly reported to the Sultan but he took no notice of it.¹³ Not only that, the behaviour of his mother-in-law had made 'Alāuddīn miserable still. The Malika-i-Jahan had got scent of his ambitions and kept a close watch upon him. She warned her old and vacillating husband about 'Alāuddīn's alleged intentions of establishing an independent principality in some remote corner of the country.¹⁴ She even encouraged her daughter to behave arrogantly towards her husband. At Kara 'Alāuddīn breathed a sigh of relief. Here he was away from the indifference of the Sultan, the dominance of the Malka-i-Jahān, and the priggishness of his imperious wife. He began to ponder over his past and to plan out his future. His one idea was to keep away from the two shrews. It is difficult, however, to assign to the princess and her mother the entire blame for 'Alāuddīn's domestic unhappiness, because he himself was not without faults. He was hard-hearted and uncompromising.

Meanwhile Sultan Jalāluddīn's prestige had suffered a set back. There had been conspiracies among Turkish Amīrs against him and he had not been able to subdue the city of Delhi. He had neither the capacity to punish the rebels nor the generosity to reward his partisans. His retreat from Ranthambhor was disgraceful enough; but his conclusion of a temporary truce with the Mughal invader was worse still.

¹² *Zafar ul Vālī* p. 154.

¹³ According to Ibn Battutah the sultan's indifference towards 'Alāuddīn's family troubles very much strained the relations between the king and his nephew.

¹⁴ *Ferishta* p. 94.

Particularly his giving his daughter in marriage to Alghū must have produced a very bad impression on the nobility and populace of Delhi. In distant Kara, the rendezvous of the discontented Amīrs, the stories of the sultan's disgrace and defeat must have been repeated with added warmth to 'Alāuddīn who himself must have felt humiliated at the cowardice of his uncle and father-in-law. But he did not give expression to his resentment as Malik Ahmad Chap so often did. He continued to protest his obedience and loyalty.

'Alāuddīn's raid on Bhilsa 1292.

Towards the end of the year 691 A.H. (1292 A.D.) 'Alāuddīn requested the Sultan's permission to invade Bhilsa.¹⁵ The latter had just accomplished the conquest of Mandor, capturing it in the very first attack.¹⁶ He had also raided and plundered Jhain for the second time. The request of 'Alāuddīn at that time was, therefore, quite welcome to him, and he readily gave his consent. 'Alāuddīn left Kara and cleared the road to Ujjain on which lay the town of Bhilsa. His sudden arrival there created much consternation in the city. The frightened inhabitants concealed their idols in the bed of the Betwa, to save them from population at the hands of the Musalmans, but the prince had them hauled out of the river.¹⁷ After breaking a number of temples and capturing enormous booty 'Alāuddīn proceeded to Delhi to pay his respects to the sultan. He carried with him a variety of articles of plunder together with a massive idol, which was loaded

¹⁵ Bhilsa lies on the river Betwa. It is a railway station on the G.I.P. Ry. 34 miles north-east of Bhopal.

¹⁶ Mandor lies 4 miles north of Jodhpur. A mosque then built there is still in existence and contains a broken inscription. At the time of this invasion Mandor was in possession of Songra Chouhan Sāmānt Singh. (*Marvār kā Itihās* Hindi by B. N. Reau. p. 15).

¹⁷ *Miftāhul Futūh* Elliot Vol. III, p. 543.

on a cart.¹⁸ Jalāluddīn was immensely pleased at the results of his nephew's adventure. He ordered the captured idol to be laid at the Badaon Gate to be trampled upon by the faithful and rewarded 'Alāuddīn with the post of Minister of War ('Ariz-i-Mumālīk) and added Avadh to his *iqta'* of Kara.

At Bhilsa 'Alāuddīn had heard of the fabulous wealth of Devagiri. He had made up his mind to invade the kingdom once he had assembled an adequate army at Kara, but he nursed his ambition secretly. Now when he saw the king so kindly disposed towards him and the revenues of Avadh added to those of Kara, he begged for another favour from the Sultan. "Chanderi and its neighbourhood" he represented "are free (from payment of revenue) and are ignorant (heedless) of the army of Delhi. If it be your pleasure I shall employ new troops and retainers with the revenues of my fiefs so as to attack these places and bring countless booty . . . and deposit everything in the Imperial Treasury."¹⁹ The unsuspecting monarch, who had no idea of the extent of 'Alāuddīn's ambitions, nor even of the intensity of his estrangement with his wife and mother-in-law, gave the requisite permission to raise a new army; and tempted by the prospects of a rich booty he remitted the revenues of Kara and Avadh.²⁰ 'Alāuddīn returned to Kara and began to make preparations to invade Chanderi.²¹ This was the opportunity for which he had thirsted for so long a time. He had now both men and money. His plans had begun well.

¹⁸ *Tab. Akb.* and *Ferishtah* have two brass idols.

¹⁹ *Baranī* p. 220.

²⁰ The total revenue of a province is known as *maḥāṣil*, and what is left after defraying the expences of administration is known as *favāzil*. The latter is sent to the Imperial exchequer, but 'Alāuddīn was permitted to withhold both. *Baranī*, p. 220.

²¹ *Baranī*, p. 221.

The Kingdom of Devagiri.

The great Maratha kingdom of Devagiri lay between north India and the Deccan peninsula. To the north of Devagiri stood the mighty Vindhya and to the north and north-west of it were situated the kingdoms of Malwa and Gujarat. In the east and south were situated the kingdoms of Telingana and the Hoysalās respectively, and in the west were the Western Ghāts. Protected by the Vindhya on the north it remained outside the operational sphere of the foreign invaders who incessantly poured into northern India from the eighth to the thirteenth century, carrying away untold wealth from towns and temples alike and leaving misery and desolation behind. But at the close of the thirteenth century conditions changed, and the piercing eye of the ambitious 'Alā'ud-dīn found a passage and a pretext for its conquest.

At that time the kingdom was ruled by a Yadava king named Ram Chandra. The Yadavas claimed for themselves an ancient pedigree. Their bards spoke of them as descendants of no less a personage than Lord Krishna himself. Formerly Yadava rulers were feudatory chiefs of the Chalukyas, but about the end of the twelfth century Bhīllama Yadava was successful in throwing off their yoke, and in seizing the whole country north of the river Krishna.²³ But the credit of raising the minor kingdom to one of the greatest powers of the Deccan goes to Singhana, who ruled in the first half of the thirteenth century. He successfully invaded Malwa and

²² Devagiri or Deogir of Muslim chronicles is the modern Daulatabad in the Hyderabad state, 19.57N. 75.15E.

²³ Bhīllama's reign commenced in 1185 and not in 1187 A.D. as assumed by Dr. Fleet. This fact is revealed by the discovery of two contemporary inscriptions. The earliest record which mentions Devagiri as the capital of the Yadavas belongs to the reign of Jaitpala, a predecessor of Singhana and is dated Saka 1119 (1196 A.D.)

Arch. Sur. Report. 1929-30. p. 172, 175.

Gujarat, conquered lower Konkan, and snatched away the southern Maratha country from the Hoysala chief.²⁴ He died after a long and brilliant reign in 1247, and was succeeded by his grandson Krishna II. When he died, in 1260, the crown devolved on his brother Mahādeva, who ruled until 1271, when Ram Chandra, son of Krishna II, succeeded him. And it was this monarch who, in his old age, and after a long and successful reign had to face the unexpected invasion of 'Alāuddīn and to make an abject surrender to a foreign foe. "His early years were prosperous enough. His armies invaded both Malwa and Mysore and he was unquestionably the greatest king in Peninsular India. A hectic splendour, too illuminated his reign. In it flourished the minister Hemadri or Hemadpant. In it also appeared Dyandev, the first of the great Maratha poets of the Pandharpur school."²⁵

Thus during the course of the thirteenth century the kingdom of Devagiri had witnessed all round progress under the two capable Yadava kings, Singhana and Ram Chandra.²⁶

²⁴ It appears that the Yadava Empire in the time of Singhana was as extensive as that ruled by the ablest monarchs of the preceding dynasties. The full titles of a paramount sovereign are given to Singhana in his inscriptions, such as "the supporter of the whole world," "the love of the earth" (*Prithvīvallabha*) and "king of kings". (Bhandarkar: *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 194.) The early history of the family is to be found partly in epigraphic records, and partly in the introduction to Hemadri's *Vratakhanda*. The Puranic genealogy is perhaps given most fully by Hemadri. (J. F. Fleet: *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, Bombay, 1836, p. 511.)

²⁵ Kincaid and Parasnis: *History of the Maratha People*, Vol. I pp. 36-37.

²⁶ Hemadpant was also a great builder. The Hemadpanthi architectural style of south India is named after this Hemadpant, the Brahman counsellor of the Yadava kings of Devagiri.

Arch. Sur. Report. 1922-23 p. 58.

“ For twenty five years Ram Chandra had ruled prosperously. The valour of his armies guarded his far flung frontier. The wisdom of Hemadpant secured the prosperity of his subjects and filled the treasury of the monarch.”²⁷ Apart from territorial acquisitions Devagiri had also been enriched by its booming trade and commerce which are apt to flourish in a country enjoying perpetual peace internally. No foreign raiders had robbed the treasures of the country, and ‘Alāuddīn had learnt at Bhilsa that Ram Chandra had inherited a huge treasure accumulated by his ancestors.²⁸ The social practices of the times and especially the use of various kinds of gold ornaments by the Hindus had made gold a household commodity, while the treasuries of the kingdom were full of precious metals and precious stones.

Such was the wealth of Devagiri which had fired ‘Alāuddīn’s imagination and had whetted his appetite for a conquest unique in the annals of Indo-Muslim history.

²⁷ Kincaid and Parasnis *A History of the Maratha People* Vol. I p. 37.

This book assigns only twenty-three years to Ram Chandra’s rule, but he had ruled for twenty-five years, from 1271 to 1296, when ‘Alāuddīn invaded Devagiri.

²⁸ Ferishtah p. 95.

'ALAUDDIN'S EXPEDITION TO DEVAGIRI

pur.⁶ His plan from the very start was to return from the expedition as soon as possible. Indeed, in those circumstances the time-factor was of great importance. 'Alāuddīn could not have stayed in the Deccan longer than warranted by his professed intention of the campaign to Chanderi lest he should have aroused opposition of powerful Hindu kings in the Deccan as well as of the barons at Delhi. He had undertaken the expedition without the king's permission, and his failure to return to Kara in time would have given a handle to his enemies to mis-represent him. He, therefore, marched straight to Ellichpur without taking rest or disturbing rulers on the way.⁷ At Ellichpur, however, he halted for two days to allow the troops to shake off the fatigue of the long and toilsome journey, and to reorganise his forces for now Devagiri was not far. To lull the suspicions of the neighbouring towns 'Alāuddīn set a rumour afloat that he was a disaffected nobleman of the court of Jalāluddīn, and had come to seek service with the Raja of Rājmundri in Telingāna, a vassal of the Yadava king.

After a forced march 'Alāuddīn crossed a pass known as Ghati Lajaura or Lasaura,⁸ about twelve miles west of Devagiri. The valley was governed by Kānhañ, a brave Hindu chief who owed allegiance to Ram Chandra. Kānhañ summoned his friends and prepared to fight. In his fief there lived two ladies of high rank well versed in the art of warfare.

⁶ Ellichpur lies in Berar. At the time of 'Alāuddīn's invasion it was a northern outpost of the Yadava dominions. Throughout the Medieval times it was a flourishing centre of trade and commerce. Ellichpur became the chief military station of Berar under the Mughals.

Also see *Chahār Gulshān*, Bankipur Ms. fol. 85.

⁷ Ferishtah p. 95.

⁸ Lajaura, Lasaura or Lasaur lies s. w. of Devagiri very close to the latter. Also see the map attached to J. N. Sarkar's *A short history of Aurangzeb*.

When these chivalrous women heard of the invaders they joined Kānhan with a large retinue. In the battle that ensued these 'tigresses' charged the enemy with such fury that he was compelled to fall back some distance. In the second charge, however, the latter advanced with greater determination and the southerners were defeated. The vanquished army retreated precipitately; its rout was complete and its losses heavy.⁹

'Alāuddīn had, no doubt, won the battle, but he had at the same time seen the mettle of the southerners. Before marching forward to his main objective Devagiri he addressed his officers and men and brought home to them the idea of the rough work that lay ahead. "In a country," said he, "where women do not retreat before us... I do not know what men would do to us on the field of battle."¹⁰ He not only frightened his troops with likely dangers but also tempted them by visualising to them the wealth that they would obtain in plunder and spoliation. The soldiers one and all swore for the second time, to fight and win. This done, 'Alāuddīn proceeded onward.

So far no Muslim army had ventured into the south. Great consternation overtook the king and the inhabitants of the country. To add to Ram Chandra's intrepidation his son

⁹ *Futūh*. pp. 223-24. 'Isāmī wrote about eight years before Baranī finished his history, and at many places the former gives better information than the latter. In this expedition particularly 'Isāmī is more to be trusted because:—

- (a) He wrote at Devagiri itself.
- (b) He wrote after listening to many trustworthy accounts (See Authorities).
- (c) His narrative written before Baranī's is quite corroborative of the latter. 'Isāmī seems to be a good connoisseur of facts.

¹⁰ *Futūh*. p. 223.

Singhana Deva¹¹ had marched southwards on an expedition with the choicest contingents of the Maratha forces. This was in accordance with the military traditions of the past.¹² Ferishtah's statement that Singhana was away on a pilgrimage is not plausible, as there was no reason for his taking the best troops of the kingdom with him. Mr. Aiyangar also thinks that when 'Alāuddīn made his plans he had definite information that the main army of Ram Deva had marched towards the Hoysala frontier under his son.¹³ The old king saw no alternative now—when the enemy was already marching into the city—but to throw reinforcements into the citadel and stand a siege. The fortress of Devagiri is situated on an isolated cone-shaped hill 640 feet high. The steepness and height of the rock required a minimum of defences. But walls, bastions, and a moat cut 50 feet deep into solid rock, made up for the little deficiencies left by nature.¹⁴ But for some time past the Yadavas had felt too powerful to care for their own defence, so that at the time of 'Alāuddīn's invasion the moat was lying dry and unprotected, and the garrison was

¹¹ *Deval Rani* pp. 85, 86, has Singhana Deva. Again both Amīr *Khusrau* and 'Iṣāmī give the name of the second son so Bhīlam, (*Futūḥ*. pp. 226, 326). But Sir W. Haig (*Camb. Hist. of India*, vol. III) and some other writers give the names of the two sons as Shanker Deva and Bhīm Deva. Ferishtah's Sankhal or Sankhan and Bhim are wrong. The correct names are Singhana and Bhillama, so common in the royal genealogies of the Yadavas.

Also see Hodivala pp. 372-75.

¹² *Arch. Sur. India Report*, 1930-34. Part I p. 236. *Futūḥ*. pp. 226-27.

¹³ Aiyangar p. 77.

¹⁴ The fortress still stands, peerless in beauty and strength, but the capital of the Yadavas is now only a village ten miles from Aurangabad.

Also see Gribble: *History of the Decan*, vol. I, p. 2.



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The Citadel of Devagiri

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short of provisions.¹⁵ Incidentally, however, a few merchants from fear of the invading army had left some bags, and these had been seized and put into the fort.

Ram Chandra had retreated into the fort but the lower city, especially the part which was later known as Katakah,¹⁶ was left at the mercy of the invader. It was thoroughly sacked and every single house in it was put to plunder.¹⁷ Influential Brahmans and chief merchants of the city were taken prisoner. 'Alāuddīn also captured thirty to forty elephants and a thousand horse from the stables of the Maratha king.¹⁸ In the meantime the crafty Turk circulated yet another rumour. He declared that his army was only a vanguard of the twenty thousand Imperial horsemen who were following behind. Ill-equipped with men, weapons and provision, Ram chandra could not have stood a siege for long in any case; now he gave up all hope of success. At last he sent messengers with terms for a treaty, accompanied with a few threats. He remained the reckless adventurer that Singhana might return any time and it was prudent on his part to leave the city before the latter came. He also pointed

¹⁵ Ferishtah p. 95.

Haig: *Landmarks of the Decan.* p. 12.

¹⁶ *Futūh.* pp. 226, also 357. Katakah was walled and fortified by Muhammad Tughlaq when he shifted his capital to Daulatabad. There he built three concentric lines of defence: Daulatabad, the seat of the sultan and his army; Katakah; and Devagiri fort itself. In Mughal times Daulatabad came to be known as Ambarkot, Katakah as Mahakot, and Devagiri as Balakot.

Ibn Battutah, vol. IV, p. 46.

Stuart Piggot: *Some Ancient Cities of India*, Oxford, pp. 79-85.

¹⁷ *Futūh.* pp. 227-28.

¹⁸ Barani p. 223; Ferishtah p. 95.

out to 'Alāuddīn that his retreat would lie through many Hindu kingdoms and could certainly be cut off. 'Alāuddīn also thought it prudent to accept whatever was offered and make haste for Kara. He patched up a truce, levied a war indemnity, and promised to leave the capital within a fortnight after releasing all the prisoners of war. But the terms of the treaty were yet to be fulfilled when events took a different turn.

The Battle of Devagiri

When Singhana heard of the catastrophe which had befallen the capital, he hurried back to relieve his father in distress. On his arrival within three kos from the capital, he received a message from Ram Chandra saying that a truce had been concluded with the invader, that the enemy was a very tough fighter and that any further attempt of fighting him would bear no better results. Daring and energetic as he was, the youthful prince turned a deaf ear to his father's warning, and marshalled his forces to fight 'Alāuddīn.¹⁹ He sent a threatening message to 'Alāuddīn saying that if he wanted to escape from the dangerous 'whirlpool' in which he had entangled himself, he must hand over all the wealth he had looted and immediately return to the north. 'Alāuddīn, who had only recently dictated terms of treaty to Ram Chandra flew into a rage at this imprudent and impertinent action of his haughty son, and ordered the messengers of Singhana to be paraded between the ranks of his army with their faces blackened.²⁰ He then started preparation for the next encounter.

¹⁹ 'Isāmī's statement that Singhana submitted without giving a battle is wrong. *Futūḥ*. pp. 228-30.

²⁰ Ferishtah p. 96. It was against usage to insult messengers. At a later time when the ambassadors of the Ilkhān sultan Aljaitū of Persia came to India, they also met with insulting treatment at the hands of 'Alāuddīn. Vaṣṣāf denoun-

'Alāuddīn left Nuṣrat Khan with a thousand horse to look after the investment of the fort thus making the junction of the father's and the son's forces impossible and himself arrayed the remnant of the army to give battle to Singhana. The Marāṭha forces outnumbered those of the Muslims and in the battle that ensued they infused terror into the hearts of 'Alā'i troops. Finding his master in extreme danger Nuṣrat Khan left the fortress, without any orders from 'Alāuddīn, and hurried to join the latter. This tactical action on the part of Nuṣrat turned the tide of the victory on the side of the Muslims as his contingent of one thousand was mistaken by the Marathas for the alleged twenty thousand horse about which 'Alāuddīn had spread a false report. A panic seized the troops of Singhana Deva and they fled pell mell from the field of battle. 'Alāuddīn renewed the siege of the fortress with still greater vigour. He put to death many merchants and Brahmans he had taken prisoner and paraded some of the near relations and nobles of Ram Deva in front of the fortress. Ram Chandra for whom the calamity was as terrible as it was unprecedented consulted his courtiers about calling the neighbouring Hindu Rajas to his aid, but before they could arrive at any decision they discovered that the two or three thousand bags which they had brought into the fortress during the first siege did not contain grain but salt. This discovery broke the nerve of everybody inside the citadel.

Ram Chandra sued for peace again, but this time 'Alā-uddīn was adamant. He had scented the reason why the Maratha king was so importunate to secure a treaty as quickly as possible and delayed negotiations until the envoys of Ram Chandra confessed that the defenders were almost on the verge of starvation. At last a truce, the terms of which were dictated by the victorious prince, was patched up. 'Alāuddīn

ces the unconstitutional action of the king of Hindustan in strong terms. See Chapter XIII.

was to receive a much larger war indemnity than was agreed to on the previous occasion. According to Ferishtah it consisted of "six hundred *man* of gold, seven *man* of pearls, two *man* of precious stones like rubies, sapphires, diamonds and emeralds, one thousand *man* of silver and four thousand pieces of silk and sundry articles the details of which are beyond comprehension."²¹ The contemporary historian Ziyā Baranī does not give any such list. He only says that 'Alāuddīn brought so much wealth from the Deccan that despite the squandering of it by his successors much of it remained till the time of Fīroz Tughlaq.²² Amīr Khusrau, another contemporary, describes at length in his exaggerated poetic way, the treasures brought by 'Alāuddīn, but he too does not give any figures.²³ Consequently it is doubtful if Ferishtah derived his exact knowledge of the war indemnity from some reliable source. It may only be a computation of his fertile mind. In short, the exact amount of the wealth cannot be ascertained from the meagre data available.

Besides the huge war indemnity, Ram Chandra promised to send yearly revenues of Ellichpur province to 'Alāuddīn at Kara. He also gave his daughter in marriage to 'Alāuddīn. Although contemporary historians do not mention this fact, yet 'Iṣāmī, Vaṣṣāf, Muḥammad Bihāmad Khan and Ḥajiud-dabīr allude to it.²⁴ 'Iṣāmī even gives the name of the princess as Jahatiapali or Jhatiapali, a word which, however, has no meaning.²⁵ At another place he says that she was the

²¹ Ferishtah p. 96.

²² Baranī p. 223.

²³ *Miftāḥul Futūḥ*, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 544.

²⁴ Vaṣṣāf p. 312;

Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī, Allahabad University Ms. fol. 122.

Zafarul Vālī p. 837.

²⁵ *Futūḥ*. pp. 230-31.

mother of Shihābuddīn ‘Umar Khaljī,²⁶ whom Khusrau placed on the throne after ‘Alāuddīn’s death.

‘Alāuddīn on his part released all the prisoners of war and struck tents. He left Devagiri twenty five days after he had entered it full of hopes and fears. On his way back to Kara he stormed the fort of Asīrgarh which was then held by Chouhan Rajputs.²⁷ But his main objective had been Devagiri and that kingdom he had been able to reduce to the position of a vassal state, and obtain such an immense treasure as to astound his contemporaries. Brigg’s remark on his brilliant achievement is worth quoting. “In the long volumes of history,” says he, ‘there is scarcely anything to be compared with this exploit, whether we regard the resolution in forming the plan, the boldness of its execution, or the great good fortune that attended its accomplishment.’”

²⁶ *Futūh*. pp. 335, 344.

²⁷ *Arch. Sur. Ind. Report*, 1922-23, p. 46.

The fort which is believed to have been mentioned in the Mahabharata consists of three separate line of fortifications known as Asīrgarh proper, Kamargarh and Malaigarh.

²⁸ Briggs’ *Ferishtah*, Vol. I, p. 311.

CHAPTER V

MURDER OF JALALUDDIN KHALJI

Early in the year 695 H. (1296 A.D.) Jalāluddīn had marched with his army to Gwalior. No definite dates have been given about Jalāluddīn's march to and stay at Gwalior. Ferishtah furnishes some details but his statements contradict themselves.¹ Baranī simply says that Jalāluddīn went on an expedition to Gwalior in 695 H. and stayed there for some time. At Gwalior "rumours" began to reach him that 'Alāuddīn had obtained success at Devagiri and was returning to Kara.² It appears that Jalāluddīn had started for Gwalior about the same time 'Alāuddīn had left for Devagiri. From Kara 'Alāulmulk was constantly transmitting fabricated news to the sultan³ to the effect that the prince was busy reducing refractory kingdoms and would soon send a petition to the king. It is doubtful if 'Alāulmulk himself knew much about the extraordinary exploit of 'Alāuddīn.

In short, it was at Gwalior that Jalāluddīn first learnt that 'Alāuddīn had marched to Devagiri, had sacked it, and was returning to Kara with a rich booty. The sultan was immensely pleased at the news of his nephew's victory and to share his joy with his boon companions he held drink parties. Meanwhile news about the vast treasures 'Alāuddīn was bringing from the Deccan was confirmed by successive reports. It was remoured that the treasures far exceeded

¹ Ferishtah pp. 95-97.

² Baranī p. 223.

³ Baranī (222) simply says that the news was sent by 'Alāulmulk to the court. He does not mention Delhi or Gwalior, but it was obviously sent at Gwalior where the sultan was staying.

those possessed by any monarch of Delhi in the past. The very idea of the immensity of the captured wealth made Jalāluddīn a little thoughtful. The prince had acted in an independent manner. He had not obtained the king's permission to invade Devagiri. Jalāluddīn held secret consultations with his most intimate barons like Malik Aḥmad Chap, Malik Fakhruddīn Kūchī, Malik Kamāluddīn Abul Ma'ālī and Malik Naṣīruddīn Kuhramī. He asked them to opine on the course of action to be adopted in such circumstances. Should he stay where he was and wait for 'Alāuddīn to come to him, or march out to meet him on his way to Kara. or should he go back to Delhi?

Sane suggestion was not wanting. Malik Aḥmad,⁴ the Naib Barbak, and sister's son of the sultan, who was known for giving the most practical advice said: "Elephants and wealth when held in great abundance are the cause of much strife. Whoever acquires them becomes so intoxicated that he does not know his hands from his feet. 'Alāuddīn is surrounded by many of the rebels and insurgents who supported Malik 'Chhajjū. He went into a foreign land, without leave, has fought battles and won treasure. The wise have said, 'Money and strife; strife and money,' that is, the two things are inseparable from each other. My opinion is that we should march in all haste towards Chanderi to meet 'Alāuddīn and intercept his return. When he finds the Sultan's army in the way, he must necessarily present all his spoils to the throne whether he likes it or not. The Sultan may then take the silver and gold, the jewels and pearls, the elephants and horses, and leave the other booty to him and his soldiers. His territories should be increased and he should be taken in honour to Delhi . . . but if he is permitted to go to Kara with the treasures amounting to those of ten kingdoms, we shall all

⁴ According to Ḥajiuddibīr his full name was Shihā-buddīn Aḥmad Chap. *Zafarul Vālī* p. 754.

be ruined. I also know that for years Malik 'Alāuddīn has been in trouble with his wife and the Malka-i-Jahān. And no loyalty should be expected from one who has been in trouble."⁵

Aḥmad Chap's harangue pricked the Sultan "like a thorn." In fact he had spoken so frankly 'before any body else had said anything,' that his sincere utterance was misconstrued. The Sultan chid Aḥmad saying he had done no thing against 'Alāuddīn to estrange him and he was falsely accusing his son-in-law. Jalāluddīn then addressed other nobles and asked them for advice on the point. Malik Fakhruddīn Kūchī did not like to incur the Sultan's displeasure. He knew that even a word spoken against his nephew was unwelcome to Jalāluddīn. He, therefore, began with what he thought would please the sultan, although he knew that what Aḥmad Chap had said was all correct. "No responsible person," began the cunning Fakhruddīn, "on whose word full reliance can be placed has come to the court from 'Alāuddīn's camp. It is not certain whether the rumours are false or true. There is a famous maxim that 'socks should not be doffed till water be sighted.' If we march with an army and intercept him on the way, his men would be frightened to hear of the arrival of the Imperial army. One and all would they run away and hide themselves in the jungle and all the treasure that he is bringing would be lost. We should (only) keep a force in readiness, and until we find anybody refractory it is not justified to march against him. But the month of Ramzān is approaching and melons as (sweet as) sugar-candy have arrived in Delhi. It appears right to me that Your Majesty should return to Delhi with your army and pass the month of Ramzān there."⁶

⁵ Baranī pp. 224-25.

⁶ Baranī pp. 226-227.

The language of this passage is defective but a literal translation has been given. The last two sentences of Fakhruddīn Kūchī specially stand out as a proof of his cunning.

Malik Ahmad Chap who was loyal and sincere to a fault could no longer stand the hypocrisy of Fakhruddīn and addressed him in very harsh words. But the Sultan silenced him by saying: "I have brought him" ('Alāuddīn) up in my lap, and he is so much indebted to me that even if my sons go against me he cannot." Nothing could prevent Jalāluddīn from adopting a course of action which his love for his nephew dictated. He left Gwalior for Delhi and arrived at Kilughari soon after.

Meanwhile 'Alāuddīn, after a long but quick march was back in Kara on the 28th of Rajjab 695 (2nd June 1296).⁷

⁷ Khazāin. Habib Trans. p. 5., Elliot Vol. III, p. 69.

There is some difference in the narratives of contemporary historians about the time which 'Alāuddīn spent on his expedition to Devagiri. Baranī at one place (referring to a letter of apology 'Alāuddīn sent to his uncle) says that the prince wrote that he had been away on the expedition for more than a year. Baranī writing long after the occurrence of the event, probably means a long period of time and not definitely a period of more than one whole year. Following upon Baranī, Ferishtah tries to explain how the alleged period of one year was spent by 'Alāuddīn (Ferishtah pp.96-97). Other contemporary evidence, however, shows that the expedition was so planned as to be completed within a short period of two or three months.

Firstly, 'Isāmī clearly says that 'Alāuddīn had planned to return within a couple of months *Futūḥ* p. 222. As has been discussed above 'Alāuddīn in no case could afford to spend much time in the Deccan.

Secondly, Baranī says (p. 222) that 'Alāuddīn had secured the roads to Devagiri during his raid on Bhilsa. He went by forced marches straight to Devagiri without giving rest to his troops or disturbing petty chieftains on the way.

Thirdly, the rumours which sultan Jalāluddīn received at Gwalior in quick succession were to the effect that 'Alāuddīn had arrived in Devagiri, had raided it and was on his way back. It appears, therefore, that 'Alāuddīn did not spend much time in Devagiri. Ferishtah says he stayed there only for 25 days.

Ever since he had left Kara about three and a half months back there had been no correspondence between him and the Sultan. He was naturally afraid that those who knew of his designs would surely have poisoned the ears of the King in his absence. Not a few barons at the court had learnt of his ambitious schemes. Ahmad Chap alone had clearly stated his suspicions and had been rebuked for his frankness. According to Yahya, however, some treachery of 'Alāuddīn had leaked out and had made him very cautious in dealing with the old king.⁸ As soon, therefore, as he arrived in Kara he addressed an epistle to his uncle professing therein his love

Fourthly, during his return from Devagiri 'Alāuddīn was also in a great hurry, (1) because he had to avoid any skirmishes with the Hindu kingdoms which lay on the way (except that he attacked the fortress of Asirgarh) and which were probably invited by Ram Deva to help him. (2) Because he was afraid of his enemies conspiring at the court against him. (3) Because the rainy season was fast approaching.

Fifthly, when Qutbuddīn Mubarak Shah invaded Devagiri in 1317-18, he arrived on the borders of the kingdom in two months' time (*Khusrau: Nūh Sipehr* Elliot Vol. III, p. 557). It is, therefore, not surprising that 'Alāuddīn's march to Devagiri took him less than a couple of months.

And *lastly* we have the authority of the contemporary Amīr *Khusrau* who gives definite dates of departure from Kara (26th Feb., 1296) and that of arrival back at Kara (2nd June, 1296). From *Khusrau's* dates it is evident that 'Alāuddīn started just after the inconvenient winter season was over and returned just before the rains started. No doubt the time for the expedition had been excellently chosen.

The casual remark of Baranī that 'Alāuddīn spent one whole year on the expedition does not seem to be correct and lacks corroboration in other contemporary writings. Discussing the siege of Ranthambhor Baranī again writes that the siege of the fort lasted for one year (p. 279) while *Khusrau* gives definite dates. Baranī's dates are generally faulty.

⁸ *T.M.S.* p. 68.

and loyalty and begging pardon for undertaking an expedition without the latter's permission. In this letter the exhibited his fears about the plot of his enemies against him during his absence in a remote country. In the end he promised to make over to the Sultan all the treasures and elephants he had brought from Devagiri if the latter just sent him an assurance, under his own signature, to the effect that he had pardoned his nephew for all his faults. Even while 'Alāuddīn was writing this treacherous communication, he was planning to fly with all his treasures towards Lakhnauti⁹ in case Jalāluddīn marched with an army towards Kara. In anticipation of such an emergency he had despatched Zafar Khan towards the east to arrange for a large flotilla for crossing the Saru (Sarju).

Jalāluddīn received 'Alāuddīn's letter only a few days after his arrival at Kilughari. Most of the nobles and other prominent men of Delhi had come to know that Alāuddīn was playing a treacherous game. They had learnt of Alāuddīn's scheme of establishing himself independently in Bengal, but they were averse to apprising the foolish sultan of the true state of affairs for fear of receiving an unjust treatment at his hands. Jalāluddīn wrote a very sweet and comforting reply to his nephew granting pardon for his imperfections and repeating his unbounded love for him. He then entrusted the conveyance of the despatch to two of his most confidential and trusted servants Malik 'Imādulmulk and Malik Zīyāuddīn.¹⁰ When these two nobles arrived in the camp of 'Alāuddīn they were stunned to see how their innocent master was being fooled by his seditious and ungrateful nephew. In vain did they try to send a warning to the Sultan for 'Alāuddīn had put them under strict guard.

⁹ Baranī p. 228. 'Alāuddīn could move only eastward. On the west was the sultan and in the south were a number of powerful Hindu Rajas.

¹⁰ *T.M.S.* pp. 65-66.

Meanwhile 'rains began to descend from the heavens.' 'Alāuddīn sent another deceitful letter, this time to his brother Almās Beg who held the post of Akhūrbeg at the court. In that he wrote that he had been disobedient and disloyal to the king and was so mortified at his action that he might put an end to his life any moment. He also said that his fears could only be allayed if the Sultan himself came to Kara alone and fetched him to the court. Almās Bēg at once handed over the letter to the Sultan, who was overcome with grief at the unnecessary fears of his nephew and son-in-law.¹¹ Jalāluddīn immediately despatched Almās Bēg to Kara to comfort 'Alāuddīn and promised to follow him soon. Almās Beg reached Kara in a week's time and on his arrival 'Alāuddīn ordered drums of joy to be beaten.¹²

Within a short time of ordering Almas Beg to Kara the king started with some of his trusted nobles and a thousand horsemen to meet his nephew. At Damhai¹³ he took boats for himself and a few of his companions, while Ahmad Chap was ordered to march at the head of the army by land. At a time when rivers were in spate everywhere, and rain poured in torrents, writes Ziyāuddīn, death was "dragging Jalāluddīn by the hair" and taking him to his assassin.¹⁴

It was on the 17th of Ramzān 695 (Friday July 20th 1296) that the boats were sighted at Kara. 'Alāuddīn with his treasures and elephants had left Kara, crossed the Ganga for the other side, and had established his headquarters at Manik-

¹¹ Baranī says that 'Alāuddīn and his associates were doing all this to beguile the Sultan. They knew how simple-minded and greedy he was.

¹² See last footnote of the Chapter.

¹³ Damhai is modern Dubhai lying 60 miles south-east of Delhi. It is now in Anūpshahr tehsil, District Bulandshahr. *Imperial Gazetteer* Vol. XI, p. 341.

¹⁴ *Baranī* p. 231.

pur. Thus he had avoided that part of the Imperial army which was marching by land, and which could not easily cross the river from Kara to Manikpur. As the canopy of the Sultan came in sight 'Alāuddīn sent his brother Almās Bēg to persuade Jalāluddīn to leave behind even the small retinue accompanying him.¹⁵ Almās Beg took a boat to meet the Sultan and as they met, he used a thousand delusive arts to disarm him completely. He induced Jalāluddīn to order the party to stay behind while he himself was rowed across to the other bank. There were only two boats now, carrying the sultan and some of his selected nobles such as Khurram the Vakīl-i-dar, Malik Fakhruddin Kūchī, Malik Amaji Akhūrbeg, Malik Jamāluddīn (Baranī has Kamāluddīn) Abul Ma'ālī, Malik Nasīruddīn Kuhrāmī, Malik Ikhtiyāruddīn, the deputy Vakīl-i-dar and Turmati the ṣashtdar.¹⁶ The traitor Almās made yet another request: "(Your Majesty) may please order that the few nobles and select followers who are sitting in the boats should take off their arms, lest it should happen that when they reach the bank my brother's eyes may fall upon them and he may get scared." Even this senseless request did not arouse the suspicions of the foolish Sultan, as his love for his nephew as well as the greed for gold had completely blinded him.¹⁷ He ordered the nobles to lay down their arms and they obeyed. When, however, the boats came near the bank

¹⁵ Baranī says that the Sultan took with him some followers and a thousand soldiers when he marched to Kara. At Damhai the army of one thousand was left under Ahmad Chap to march by land. The Sultan travelled by boat with a few followers only, but Baranī says that when he reached Kara he had, besides some of his nobles a thousand soldiers coming by boat. There is some confusion in Baranī's *Tarikh* about the number of troops that went to Kara with Sultan Jalāluddīn.

¹⁶ This list is given in *T.M.S.* p. 69.

Baranī does not give the names.

¹⁷ *Baranī* p. 230.

Sultan Jalāluddīn and his companions could hardly believe their eyes. They saw the forces of 'Alāuddīn arrayed, armed to the teeth. The elephants and horses were in full harness and formations of soldiers were stationed at various places. Jalāluddīn's party clearly saw that Almās Beg had entrapped the Sultan by his winning and plausible tongue. Malik Khurram, the Vakīl-i-dar, however, refused to take things passively and asked Almās Bēg how it was that he had made all of them throw down their arms while the forces of 'Alāuddīn were 'encased' in armour and seemed to be ready for battle. To this the traitor replied that his brother wanted to accord a royal reception to the Sultan, and that the gorgeous wealth brought from Devagiri would be laid at his feet in all ceremony. To the various questions that were asked by the frightened and nervous nobles and the over-credulous Sultan, Almās Beg gave evasive replies.

The unsophisticated Sultan bent his head over the Qur'ān and continued his journey "as a father goes to his son's house without any fear or suspicion in his mind."¹⁸ But the nobles clearly saw danger before them and in utter despondency, began to read the Sūrā-i-Yasīn.¹⁹ And so the melancholy party proceeded to meet their doom.

At last the bank was reached. To all appearance 'Alāuddīn was happy to receive his uncle. As the boat touched the bank 'Alāuddīn came forward with his nobles and fell at the feet of the Sultan. Jalāluddīn raised him up and addressed him in very affectionate terms, "... I have brought you up from infancy" the Sultan reminded 'Alāuddīn, so that now you look grown up. Have I brought you up and raised you from post to post only to assassinate you? You have always been to me dearer than my own sons, and are so

¹⁸ *Baranī* p. 253.

¹⁹ Sūrā-i-Yāsīn is recited at the time of difficulties, distress and death.

even now. The world may change but not my relationship with you, and my love for you cannot grow less.”²⁰ Having addressed his nephew thus, Sultan Jalāluddīn took ‘Alāuddīn’s hand in his own and led him towards his boats. Just then Nuṣrat Khan gave the fatal signal.²¹ Mahmūd ‘Sālīm of Samanah assaulted the Sultan with his sword, but the blow fell short and cut his own hand. Writhing with pain he struck another blow and wounded the old king. Perplexed and pained at the sudden assault the Sultan ran towards his boat crying. “Oh ‘Alā, what hast thou done.” Ikhtiyāruddīn Hūd, another hired assassin ran after the Sultan, threw him on the ground, severed his head from the body and brought it to his ungrateful and treacherous nephew.²² Needless to say that except Malik Fakhruddīn all those who accompanied the sultan were either drowned or put to the sword.²³

²⁰ *Baranī* p. 234.

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 236.

²² Ferishtah and Nizāmuddīn Ahmad say that when the Sultan was on his way to Kara ‘Alāuddīn went to the hermitage of Hazrat Karak a renowned saint of Kara, and paid his respects to him. The hermit raised his head and replied

هر کس که باتو کند جنگ - تن در کشتی سدر گنگ

i.e. anybody who opposes you in your enterprise will die. The prophecy came true shortly afterwards. Shaikh Karak is buried at Kara and his tomb is still held sacred by Musalmans.

Also see Beale: *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* p. 364.

²³ Fakhruddīn Kūchī was raised to the position of Dād-bēg-i-Hazrat at the accession of ‘Alāuddīn. *Baranī* p. 248, *Ferishtah* p. 102.

There is no reason to accept Badaonī’s statement that “Malik Fakhruddīn Kūchī fell into their hands alive and was murdered.” *Ranking* Vol. I, p. 243.

This heinous crime was committed on 17th Ramzān 696 (Friday, July 20, 1296).²⁴

²⁴ When did the idea of murdering the sultan enter 'Alā-uddīn's mind? It is certain that after his return from Devagiri he never thought of making an attempt on the king's life, although his instructions to Ram Chandra to send tribute to Kara instead of Delhi hint at a contemplated revolt. But his letters to the sultan do betray his fears from an inimical section of the nobility at court. He had, therefore, made full preparations to fly to Bengal in case men like Ahmad Chap could impress upon the king the need for firm action. But when he saw the Sultan coming to Kara "unattended" he decided to murder him, for he told Almās:

ترك عزم لكهنوتی گیرم اغنی سلطان جلال الدین از طمع
مال و بمل کورو کر گشته و خون... خواهد آمد

(Baranī p. 230). The author of *Ma'asir-i-Rahīmī* (p. 320) puts this idea in clearer terms: He writes:

باز بتکاطر اورسند کہ سلطان جلال الدین بطمع اسپ
و فیل و مال حریده پیش ما خواهد آمد - کار او بسازیم و
بملک گیریم بردا زیم - چه لازم کہ لکهنوتی باید رفت -

Thus the resolve of murder was an eleventh hour decision. But once the crime was committed 'Alāuddīn never regretted having done it. It may be said to his credit that he never justified his action against his uncle as shamelessly as Aurangzeb did against his father. He simply wanted the people to forget it. Baranī openly condemns the act; *Khusrau* does not dilate upon it.

CHAPTER VI

ACCESSION OF 'ALĀÚDDĪN

“ Blood was still dripping from the severed head of the martyred Sultan,” writes Baranī, “when the Imperial canopy was raised upon the head of ‘Alāúddīn, and he was proclaimed Sultan.” While the proclamation of his accession was made by officers riding on elephants, the head of Jalāluddīn, like that of an ordinary criminal, was paraded on a spear in the streets of Kara and Manikpur. It was later on sent to Avadh to be exposed there to the public view.¹ At Kara ‘Alāúddīn began to distribute titles and honours among his partisans. He conferred upon his brother Almās Bēg the title of Ulugh Khān, on Malik Hizabruddīn that of Zafar Khān, on Malik Sanjar that of Alp Khān and on Malik Nuṣrat Jaleṣrī that of Nuṣrat Khān. Nor did he ignore the less important men, and he raised to higher ranks most of the loyal and faithful Maliks and Amīrs. But the young king could not afford to waste much time on these formal proceedings, as the Capital of the empire was still in the hands of the sons of the late Sultan. Consequently, he started feverish preparations to seize Delhi and influential officers were advanced large amounts to enlist fresh troops. For some time rains as also the fear of Arkali Khān’s possible advance from Multan, to avenge the murder of his father, deterred ‘Alāúddīn from marching on to Delhi immediately. He was considerably afraid of Arkali Khān who was known as the “Rustam of the Age” and whose military talents he had seen during the revolt of Malik Chhajjū. But when he heard that Arkali Khān was not coming to Delhi his joy knew no bounds. Fully convinced of the worthlessness of the successor of Jalāluddīn and his inability to raise a

¹ Baranī pp. 236-37.

fresh army because of the impoverishment of the Delhi treasury, 'Alāuddīn made up his mind to march towards the Capital in the midst of the rainy season.

Events at Delhi after Jalāluddīn's murder.

Just after the assassination of Jalāluddīn, Malik Ahmad had returned to the capital and astounded everybody with the news of the terrible tragedy. There was no time for Malka-i-Jahān to shed tears over the death of the King, for the loss of even a little of it would have meant the passing of the throne to her husband's murderer. She was a woman of ambition, and therefore, even without consulting the nobles,² she proclaimed her youngest son Qadr Khan as king with the title of Sultan Ruknuddīn Ibrāhīm. The Queen mother and her son left Kilughari and took up residence in the Kaushak-i-Sabz (the Green Palace). She began to rule in his name, received petitions and issued orders. At Multan, Arkali Khan felt bitterly against the injustice of his mother for setting his claims aside.³ He had had some dispute with her even in the life time of Jalāluddīn, but now he was so much incensed at

² Baranī has treated Malka-i-Jahān too severely. He calls her the "silliest of the silly" and attributes her choice of the younger son to her ambition to rule in his name. A little reflection, however, would reveal that the problems at the capital after the murder of Jalāl were very knotty indeed. The government could not be carried on for long without a king. Arkali Khan was far away and his arrival from Multan would have taken some time. Malka-i-Jahān as well as some of her nobles knew it well that 'Alāuddīn would spare no time in marching to Delhi if somebody was not proclaimed king instantly.

Moreover, Qadr Khan was an offspring of old age and had been much loved by Jalāluddīn and Malka-i-Jahān.

Baranī pp. 176-177.

Miftāḥul Futūḥ, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 540.

³ Baranī pp. 238-39.

her action that he stayed back at Multan, and did not even come to Delhi to claim the throne. Arkali was brave no doubt, but he was peevish and harsh by temperament, and was not quite beloved of his parents.⁴

It were these developments which had impelled 'Alāuddīn to start for Delhi at once. So heavy were the rains that year that "Ganga and Jumna had become vast rivers and every (paltry) stream looked like a Ganga or Jumna." The roads had become impassable through mud and mire. Yet 'Alāuddīn struck the tents. He exhorted his officers and nobles to do their best to raise a large army, and not to be mindful in fixing high salaries. In addition, a small *minjñiq*⁵ was constructed and at every halt five *man* of gold coins were hurled from it.⁶ This reckless squandering of wealth had the desired effect and people "military and non-military" flocked to him in large numbers. When 'Alāuddīn arrived near Badaon his army had swelled to 56,000 horses and 60,000 foot. Here he detached a contingent from the main force, and placing it under Zafar Khan ordered him to march on to Delhi by way of Kol (modern Aligarh), while he himself marched at the head of the main army through Badaon. He had instructed Zafar Khan to march at a rate corresponding to that of his so that the armies might converge on the Capital at the same time.

Soon after 'Alāuddīn reached Baran (modern Bulandshahr) where more troopers were enrolled. Nuṣrat Khan addressed a meeting in the open space of the Masjid of the

⁴ Badaoni.

⁵ *Minjñiq* is a warlike engine, a catapult or a machine to raise weights.

⁶ Baranī p. 243 has

town and exhorted all high and low to join their standard.⁷ He openly declared that a hundred times of what he was squandering would be realised by him if Delhi fell into their hands; and if, perchance they failed in their attempt, it was better that the wealth obtained from Devagiri was disbursed among the people rather than it fell into the hands of their adversaries.⁸ The capture of Delhi, however, was not so difficult as 'Alāuddīn had thought. Even while he was halting at Baran, some influential Jalālī nobles like Tajuddīn Kūchī, Amājī Akhūrbēg, Amīr 'Alī Dīvāna, 'Uṣmān Amīr Akhūr, Amīr Kalān, 'Umr Surkha and Hiranmār, who had been sent out to oppose the advancing hosts had changed sides. For this treacherous and shameless conduct each of them had received 20, 30 and even 50 *man* of gold from 'Alāuddīn, who as a matter of policy displayed extreme generosity on such occasions. The soldiers who had come with these nobles were also given 100 *tankahs* each. The renegade barons used to say publicly: "the people of the City certainly find fault with us and declare that we have been guilty of base ingratitude . . . , but these inconsiderate persons do not perceive that in reality the kingdom of Jalāluddīn came to an end the day he set out from the palace of Kifughari and of his own free will went in hot haste to Kara, and there put his neck and those of his intimate associates in jeopardy. What can we do but join 'Alāuddīn?"⁹ The desertion of the veteran Jalālī nobles caused such an irreparable breach in the Delhi camp that the cause of Sultan Ruknuddīn Ibrāhīm was doomed to failure. Of the nobles at Delhi a section had already ceased to sympathise with the Queen mother on account of her injustice in setting aside the claims of Arkali Khan, while ano-

⁷ Baranī p. 224.

⁸ Ibid. p. 224.

⁹ Ibid pp. 245-46.

ther wavered between allegiance to the sons of the late king and his nephew.

At such a critical moment, when the Jalālī party had completely collapsed, and Malka-i-Jahān saw no chance of success, she sent for Arkali Khan from Multan. "I was wrong in placing your younger brother on the throne" she wrote to him, "while you are still living, for none of the Maliks and Amīrs stand in any awe of him. and most of them have deserted to Sultan 'Alāuddīn, so that sovereignty is passing out of our hands. Make haste, therefore, if you can . . . and mount the throne . . .,"¹⁰ Arkali Khan lost no time to understand that the situation had become altogether hopeless. Moreover the rancour in his heart against his mother dissuaded him from going to Delhi and taking up a dying cause. He sent an evasive reply: "As the nobles and their retainers have all gone to the enemy, what would be the good of my coming"?

When the intelligence of the final reply of Arkali Khan reached 'Alāuddīn, he ordered the drums of rejoicings to be beaten. Scattering gold and collecting followers he reached the river Jumna where he won over many more nobles of the late sovereign by filling their palms with gold. For some time, 'Alāuddīn's progress was impeded, the river being in spate. But as soon as the flood subsided he crossed the Jumna at the ford of Baghpat,¹¹ and encamped on its bank.¹²

¹⁰ Baranī p. 245.

¹¹ Baghpat is given in Fuller's Ms. Baranī's text has Kath. Baghpat lies in north of Delhi on Jumna. It is in Meerut Distt.

¹² Baranī p. 246 has چودہ - در صکرا چودہ is nothing but چود which may be read for چون in *shikast*. It has often been mentioned in Persian histories and is correctly written as Jūn in the Tājul Māāsir. Jūn means river Jumna. The gate of the city opening on the river side was known as the Jūn gate and the plain of Jūn was the tract of land lying between the river and the gate of Jūn.

Ruknuddīn had little hope of success, still he arrayed his ranks to give battle to his cousin. But just on the eve of the engagement, the left wing of his rickety forces openly deserted to the enemy and his fate was sealed for ever. Finding his own life in jeopardy he left the capital secretly through the Ghaznī Gate with the queen-mother and some well-wishers like Ahmad Chap and Alghū.¹³ The wretched plight of the royal family drew sympathy from all high and low and for a few days the people of Delhi felt very unhappy.¹⁴

'Alāuddīn's accession at Delhi.

'Alāuddīn entered the capital in triumph on the 22nd Zilhijjāh 695 (20th October, 1296).¹⁵ The great nobles of the city, the justices of the peace, the custodians of the keys of the fort and other dignitaries of consequence, came out to wait upon him, "whereupon the earth assumed a totally different aspect." The newly crowned king assumed the title of Abul Muẓaffar Sultan 'Alāud-duniya-va-dīn Muḥammad Shāh Khaljī. He took up his residence in the Kaushak-i-Lal or the crimson palace¹⁶ where sultan Ghayāṣuddīn Balban had formerly resided. According to the time honoured custom the khutbah was read and coins struck in 'Alāuddīn's name.

¹³ Ruknuddīn Ibrāhīm reigned for a period of one month only. *Badaonī*. Ranking vol. I, p. 245.

¹⁴ *Futuh* pp. 237-38.

¹⁵ This date has been given by Amīr Khusrau. (*Khaẓāin* Allahabad University Ms. p. 7., *Habīb's* Trans. p. 7) *Baranī* does not give the exact date but simply says that 'Alāuddīn was crowned towards the end of the year 695 A.H. There were two formal accessions of 'Alāuddīn. The first was at Kara just after the murder of Jalāluddīn on the 16th (Khusrau) or the 17th (*Baranī*) of Ramẓān 695 H. and the second at Delhi after 'Alāuddīn had completely overcome all opposition.

¹⁶ This was built by Balban about the year 1265 A.D.

To commemorate the auspicious occasion liberal gifts were bestowed upon the people at large, and for some time wine and beauty and music and mirth became the order of the day. Pavilions were erected in the bazārs and wine, soft drinks and pān were distributed free. The army was given six months' salary as a reward, the Shaikh and 'ulama were awarded gratuities, and all high and low partook of the royal bounty. Such a lavish distribution of wealth and unstinted generosity helped the people to forget the assassination of the late king.¹⁷

Like a far-sighted statesman 'Alāuddīn gained the support of the Jalālī officers by conferring upon them high offices of the state. A coalition ministry of some notables of the old regime and his own favorites nobles was set up. Khvājā Khaṭīr, the well-known Khavājā Jahān (Prime minister) of Jalāluddīn, was confirmed in his former office. Qāzī Sadr-i-Jahān Sadruddīn 'Arif was appointed Qāzī-i-Mumālīk (Chief Justice), Malik 'Umdatulmulk was appointed Dīvān-i-Inshā (Secretary of State); and of his sons Ḥamīduddīn and A'izuddīn, the former was enrolled among the supervisors of the Court, and the latter was appointed Superintendent Correspondence Department. Saiyyad Ajal was allowed to continue as Shaikhul Islam and Khatib, Nuṣrat Khan Jalesri was appointed Kotvāl of Delhi, while Malik Fakhruddīn Kūchī was made Dādbēg-i-Ḥaṣrat (Judge of the Capital). Malik Abājī, a nobleman of Sultan Jalāluddīn, was appointed Superintendent of the Royal Stables (Akhūrbēg), and Malik Hiranmār was given the post of Junior Chamberlain (Naib Bārbak). Hizabruddīn Zafar khan,¹⁸ who later proved worthy of his honourable charge, was appointed Minister of War ('Ariz-i-Mumālīk). Malik 'Alāulmulk, the uncle of the historian Ziyāuddīn, was appoint-

¹⁷ Ferishtah text, p. 101. Briggs vol. I p. 324.

¹⁸ Badaonī has Badruddīn. Yahya names him Yūsuf and says that he was a sister's son of 'Alāuddīn *T.M.S.* p. 71.

ed governor of Kara, while his father Muy'idumulk was appointed Mayor of Baran. Malik Jūna continued in his old post of Naib Vaki-i-dar.¹⁹

India in 1296.

The city and the court wore a happy aspect but the condition of the country at large gave a cause for anxiety. India was then passing through a crisis. In the north-west the Mughals were sending out harassing expeditions every year. Another restive element were the Gakkhars in the Punjab. Multan and Sindh were held by Arkali Khan, who ruled virtually as an independent king. Towards the south-west of Sindh lay the prosperous kingdom of Gujarat ruled by the Baghela Rajputs. Adjacent to Gujarat were situated the various kingdoms of Rajputana, all independent of one another and of the Sultanate of Delhi. No Muslim ruler had been successful in completely defeating or subjugating any of them. On the other hand the existence of states like Chittor and Ranthambhor was an open challenge to the prowess of Delhi Sultanate. In Central India Malwa, Dhār, Ujjain and the vast tract of Bundelkhand was still out of the pale of Muslim domination and enjoyed perfect independence. The whole tract now comprising Bihar, Bengal and Orrisa was in the hands of Hindu Rajas or independent Muslim kings. In Bengal Nasiruddin Mahmūd, a son of Balban, and after him his successors, had been ruling independently. In the Doab, the most fertile part of the country, the entire strip of territory from Meerut to Pilibhit together with the sub-montane region of Kamaon in the north, was in the hands of intractable feudal barons, Hindu and Musalman. In the territories of Avadh, Benares and Gorakhpur, the suzerainty of Delhi was not yet fully established. South of the Vindhya mountains, again, Muslim armies had not yet conquered any kingdom. 'Alā'uddīn had marched into Devagiri but as soon as he had

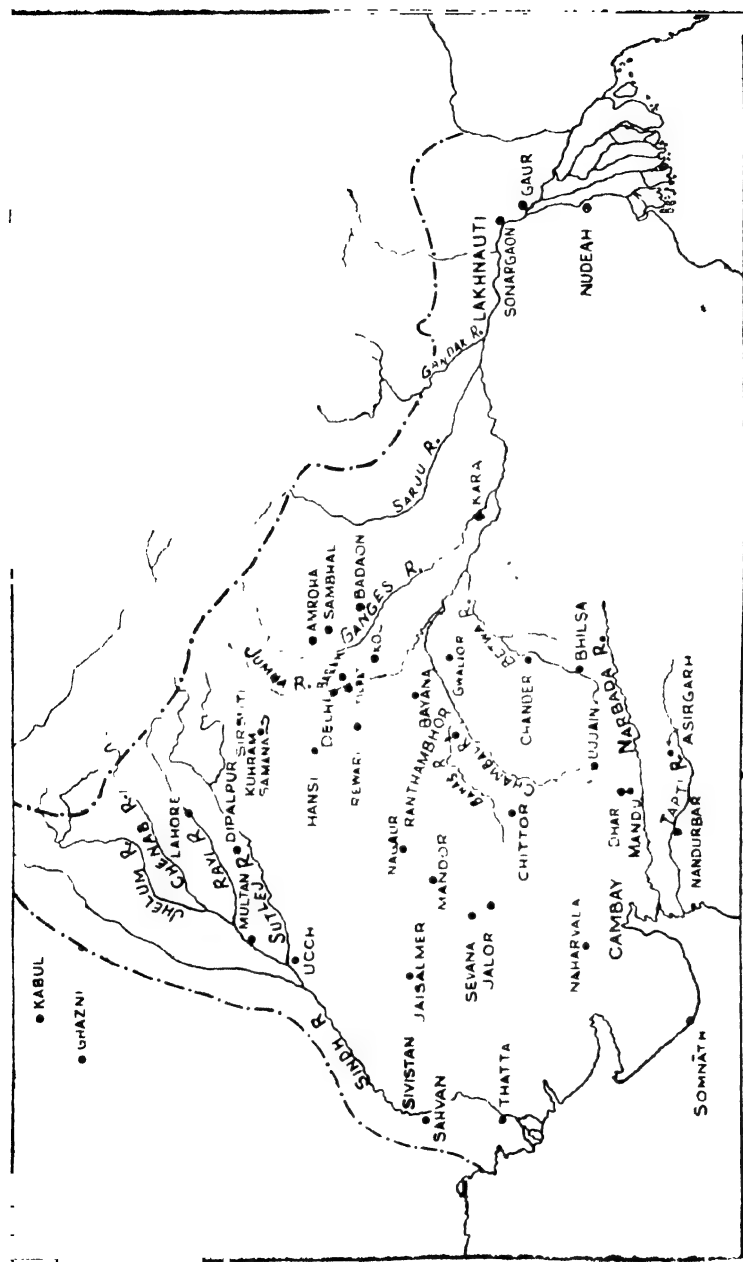
¹⁹ Baranī pp. 247-48,. Ferishtah p. 102.

returned to the north, the Yadavas had by and by recovered their lost prestige and power. The other mighty kingdoms of Warangal, Dvarsamudra, and those ruled by the Cholas, the Chēras and the Pandyas had never heard of a Muslim invader.

Problems before 'Alāuddīn.

Such was the state of the country with its problems of unification, administration and defence that the new king was called upon to tackle. The sons of Jalāluddīn were still living and could gather formidable strength any moment. Therefore, the foremost problem confronting 'Alāuddīn was of overthrowing the surviving scions of the late king. Then there was the task of reconciling a nobility which had been accustomed to plotting against the crown. No less important was the task of defending the frontiers against the Mughal invaders, who had set their heart on the conquest of Hindustan, and on one or two occasions had penetrated as far as Delhi itself. Again, the sultan had to conquer the independent states if he wanted to consolidate his power and perpetuate Muslim rule in the country. One of the chief characteristics of the sultanate period was that with the advent of a new dynasty, the process of conquest had to be repeated once again. Thus Gujarat, Chittor, Ranthambhor, the Deccan and Bengal, all had to be conquered repeatedly. In fact the subjugation of Rajputana is the test by which every king of Delhi should be judged. At the time of 'Alāuddīn's accession, most of northern India and the whole of the Deccan was beyond the sphere of Muslim domination. Therefore, the conquest of the whole of Hindustan was the greatest problem and the highest ambition of the king. On the top of it all was the problem of placing the administration on an efficient and stable footing. The big landlords were a thriving menace. There being little contact between the local administration

and the Central government, because of lack of responsible officers, the local magnates like Khūts and Muqqadams were left to enjoy a large measure of independence. The sultan had to think out ways and means of bringing them under control, and utilising their services to the best interests of the state.



Northern India at the beginning of the XIV Century

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CHAPTER VII

MULTAN GUJARAT BENGAL

After fully establishing himself at Delhi, 'Alāuddīn addressed himself to the task of overthrowing the surviving sons of Jalāluddīn. Ruknuddīn Ibrāhīm had, after leaving Delhi, joined his elder brother Arkali Khan at Multan. There they lived in a state of independence in a far-off province, and could any day become a source of immeasurable danger by claiming the throne. 'Alāuddīn, therefore, determined to put an end to this peril once for all. As he had been crowned only recently he did not consider it wise to march to Multan in person and deputed his two trusted generals Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan to conduct the campaign. With a strong force of thirty to forty thousand they proceeded to Multan in Muḥarram 696 (November 1296).¹ Arriving there, they invested the town at once. Arkali Khan had had the forebodings of the calamity and had made adequate preparations to encounter it, but the Kotvāl of the town in conjunction with other local patricians, unable to bear the hardships of a protracted siege, deserted to the other side only after about a couple of months' investment. Arkali lost all hope of success and importuned Shaikh Ruknuddīn of Multan to intervene on his behalf. The Shaikh arranged terms of a truce between the contending parties. He took the princes to the camp of Ulugh Khan, where they were received with dignity. The news of the victory was despatched to Delhi where great rejoicings were held.

The victorious generals left for the Capital accompanied by the two captive princes, their families and nobles. At

¹ Badaonī, Ranking, Vol. I, p. 247.

Abuhār² they were met by Nuṣrat Khan who carried express orders of the king about punishments to the various prisoners. Arkalī and Ibrahīm, Malik Aḥmad Chap and Malik Alghū, son-in-law of Jalāluddīn, were mercilessly blinded. Their families were separated from them and their goods and slaves seized. Later on Arkalī and Ibrahīm, together with the two sons of the former, were handed over to the kotwal of Hansi. He put them to death summarily.³ The Malka-i-Jahān, whom 'Alāuddīn considered to be his arch enemy, Malik Aḥmad Chap and Malik Alghū were imprisoned by Nuṣrat Khan in his own mansion at Delhi.⁴

Soon after the conquest of Multan Nuṣrat Khan was appointed the Vazīr (1297). He confiscated the lands and property of the nobles of Jalāluddīn, and of those Amīrs and Maliks who had been lavishly rewarded by 'Alāuddīn in the early days of his accession. He devised such novel methods of extorting money and seizing property, that in a surprisingly short time he was able to deposit a large amount in the Imperial treasury. About the same time 'Alāuddīn sent for his faithful servant and adviser Malik 'Alāulmulk, uncle of the historian Ziyā Baranī. Alāulmulk arrived at the Court with a large retinue of nobles and Amīrs, and presented to the king all the elephants and treasures which the latter had left with him at Kara. As he was excessively corpulent and was not

² Abuhār is near Hansi. Hansi is now a *tehsil* in Hisar district. It was an important military centre during the early Muslim period. A large number of inscriptions of 'Alāuddīn have been found here, showing the importance of the town at that time.

Epi. Indo-Moslemica, 1917-18, p. 8.

T.M.S. p. 71.

³ Badaonī, *Ranking*, Vol. I, p. 248.

Ferishtah p. 102.

Baranī p. 249 is not quite clear on the point.

⁴ The fate of these wretched prisoners is not recorded in history but can easily be surmised.

fit for active service he was detained at Delhi as its Kotvāl while the fief of Kara was entrusted to Nuṣrat Khan, who had of late become very unpopular at Delhi because of his extortionist devices.

The years 1297, 1298 and 1299 also witnessed two invasions of the Mughals first under Kadar and then under Deva and Saldi. They were successfully repelled. The defeat of the Mughals established the authority and augmented the prestige of the new king still further, and he became more and more ruthless. On the advice of his brother Almās Bēg he punished all those Jalālī Amīrs who just for a handful of silver had deserted the cause of their patron and joined his successor. Many of them were deprived of their eye-sight, while others were thrown into prison and their entire property was confiscated. Only three of them viz. Malik Qutbuddīn 'Alvi, Malik Naṣiruddīn and Malik Amīr Jamāl Khalji, who had not accepted the murderer's gold or deserted to him, escaped this inquisitional maltreatment. All others were exterminated root and branch. Thus the back bone of the old Turkish aristocracy was broken. The Sultan founded his own order of nobility which was absolutely and unreservedly obedient to him. Incidentally he was able to add a coror of rupees to his hoard of wealth.

Having suppressed the so-called refractory element, 'Alā-uddīn began to think of subjugating the independent parts of the country. After the expedition to Multan he had not been able to send out any major expedition. In 1299 his armies were free to embark on a career of conquest. The fair and opulent kingdom of Gujarāt attracted his immediate attention.

The Kingdom of Gujarāt.

The kingdom of Gujarāt was one of the most fertile regions of India in the Middle Ages. In the production of agricultural wealth it stood perhaps next only to the Doab.

In its towns brisk and lively trade flourished under peaceful conditions. Its chief port of Cambay carried on trade and commerce with northern countries like Arabia and Persia. Long before the Muslim conquerors had penetrated into northern India, Arab traders had settled in this region. About the city of Cambay Vaṣṣāf writes: "Its air is pure, its water clear and the circumjacent country beautiful and charming both in scenery and buildings."⁵ Marco Polo, the adventurous Venetian, who visited the country a century before Vaṣṣāf also speaks of Cambay as a place possessed of immense wealth and riches;⁶ and both these are corroborated by Ibn Battūtah who writes at length about its wealthy merchants.

Early history of Gujarāt.

The early history of Gujarāt is shrouded in obscurity. The Mauryas are known to have been its first rulers. The Vallabhīs ruled it from the fifth to the eighth century A.D.; then came the Chandava dynasty, which was succeeded by the Chalukyas or Solankīs. It was in the reign of Bhīm Deva I. (1022—64 A.D.) that Maḥmūd of Ghazna sacked the celebrated temple of Somnath.⁷ The next important ruler of Gujarāt was Bhīm Deva II (1178—1242). He defeated Muḥammad Ghaurī in 1178, but could not effectively resist Quṭbuddīn Aibak who invaded the kingdom twice, in 1195 and 1197-98. In the later raid Quṭbuddīn plundered Anhilvara (modern Patan and Nahrvala of Muslim historians), the capital, and returned with a large amount of booty.⁸

⁵ Vaṣṣāf. Book IV, p. 447.

⁶ Yule: *Ser Marco Polo* Vol. II, pp. 388-91.

⁷ See M. S. Commissariat: *A History of Gujarat* Vol. I, pp. LVIII-LXXV. For the total destruction of Somnath by Maḥmūd of Ghazna and the erection of another edifice of the same name see M. Nāẓim: *Life and Times of Maḥmūd of Ghazna*.

⁸ Ḥasan Nizāmī: *Tajul Maʿasir*, Elliot Vol. II.

The last of the Solanki kings died without a male heir, and the kingdom passed into the hands of the Baghelas who were related to the former through matrimony. The Baghela Rajputs ruled for more than half a century (1242-1299), but were constantly troubled by Muslim invaders. It was during the reign of Rai Karan that 'Alāuddīn despatched a large force for the conquest of Gujarat.

Expedition to Gujarat (1299).

The command of the expedition was entrusted to the two redoubtable generals Ulugh Khan and Nuṣrat Khan. Nuṣrat marched from Delhi on the 20th of Jamādī ul Avval, 698 (24th February, 1299).⁹ Ulugh Khan was ordered to march from Sindh,¹⁰ join the force under Nuṣrat and converge on Gujarat. Ulugh attacked Jaisalmer during his march,¹¹ and joined Nuṣrat Khan somewhere near Chittor. The joint force marched through the Chittor country, and after crossing river Banas captured the fort of Radosa.¹² This fact is corroborated by Jina Prabha Sūri who says that the then lord of

⁹ Muslim historians differ about the date of this expedition. Baranī puts it in the beginning of the third year of 'Alāuddīn's reign, which means the early months of 1299. Amīr Khusrau (*Khazain.*, Habīb Trs. p. 35) gives the above date. Jina Prabha, the author of Chandra Prabha, who was an eye witness, also gives Ullu (Ulugh) Khan's invasion in Sam. 1356, A.D. 1299 (*Ind. Ant.* 1897, pp. 194-5). Vassāf too, has Zilhijjah 698 (August 1299). It is, therefore, certain that the expedition was sent in 1299. Ferishta and Hajiuddabīr, who date it in 1297-98 are wrong.

¹⁰ *Tarikh-i-M'aṣūmī* p.44., *Ferishta* p. 102.

¹¹ *Tarikh-i-M'aṣūmī* p. 44., For details see Chapter VIII.

¹² This fact has been mentioned in the poem Kanhad de Prabandh written by one Padmanabh at Jalor in 1455. The subject matter of the poem is the siege of Jalor by 'Alāuddīn. The account seems quite trustworthy as the author wrote in a country which had suffered from the invasion and would have surely possessed many sources of information including the traditions current in that part about the raid. The Ms.

Chittakuda (Chittor), Samarsingh, protected the Mevar country by punishing the invaders, meaning obviously that a portion of the Mevar country was unsuccessfully raided by the generals of 'Alāuddīn on their march towards Gujarat.¹³ On his arrival in Gujarāt Ulugh Khan pursued the usual course of loot and plunder. The beautiful and opulent city of Anhilvara was thoroughly sacked. Raja Karan Baghela,¹⁴ who had succeeded Sārang Deva only a couple of years back, was taken by surprise and fled in confusion towards Devagiri. His women and treasures including his chief queen Kamlā Devi fell into the hands of the enemy.¹⁵ One part of the army started in pursuit of the king, and the other in search of gold marched towards the temple of Somnath. It had been rebuilt

was first discovered by Buhler in the 19th century. Commasariate: *Gujarat*, Vol. I, p. 12 K. M. Munshi: *Gujarat and its Literature* pp. 102-105.

¹³ Buhler says that Chittor had to pay a fine (or undergo punishment) while Ojha interprets that "Samar Singh the ruler of Chittakuda protected Mewar by punishing him (the invader)". The passage doubtless is defective and is liable to both the interpretations but Mr. Ojha seems more reasonable as the country was saved (obviously by defeating and driving out the raiders) and the enemy could not ravage it.

Ind. Ant. 1897 pp. 194-95.

Ojha: *Rajpūtānā kā Itihās* (Hindi) Vol. II p. 476.

¹⁴ According to Yahya, Karan had a standing army of 30,000 horse and 80,000 foot.

T.M.S. Text p. 76.

¹⁵ Tradition attributes the invasion of Gujarat to the curse of the wife of Mādhava, the Prime Minister of Karan. Mādhava had a beautiful wife Rūp Sundarī. Karan fell in love with her and taking advantage of Mādhava's absence for some time from the capital forcibly seized her. She cursed Karan that as he had separated her from her husband his queen would also be separated from him. Forbes: *Rāsmālā* p. 278.

Another tradition is that Mādhava appealed to 'Alāuddīn for help and the latter invaded Gujarāt. Nainsī: *Khayāts* Vol. I, p. 213.

by Kumārpāla (1143-74), after the first one of the same name had fallen to the iconoclastic zeal of Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 1026. The wealth of this renowned temple was seized, its idol broken and carried to Delhi where it was thrown to be trampled under the feet of the faithful.¹⁶ All the contemporary Persian writings as also the Jain account of Chandra Prabha agree on the point that the sack of Gujarat was thorough. Jina mentions that Ulugh Khan and Nuṣrat Khan destroyed hundreds of towns like Asavalli (Asaval, a village near Ahmadabad), Vanmanthali (Vanthali) and Sūrat, and looted a number of monasteries, palaces and temples in Gujarat.¹⁷ Baranī

¹⁶ "Somnath, known to the Jains as Chandra Prabha, occupies an elevated site on the north-western corner of the city of Patan, on the western coast of the Gujarāt Peninsula overlooking the sea and close to the walls. In its present mutilated state it may be difficult to convey and very distinct or correct idea of Somnath.....the whole of the buildings are most elaborately carved and ornamented with figures single and in groups of various dimensions." J.A.S.B. 1843 p. 73.

The Arab geographer Damishqi gives a description of worship in Somnath. The best account of the temple and its wealth in the time Maḥmūd of Ghazna has been given by Ibn Aṣīr, the author of *Kāmilut Tavārikh*. The temple, he says, was a place of pilgrimage for the Hindus who congregated in thousands on occasions of eclipse. The shrine was endowed with more than 10,000 villages. The idol was washed with the water of Ganga which was brought all the distance from the north and in the temple were amassed jewels of the most exquisite quality and incalculable value.

Damishqi: Arabic text pp. 170-71. Alberuni's *India*, Vol. II p. 104.

Kāmilut Tavārikh. Elliot, II, pp. 468-71.

After the destruction of the temple by Ulugh Khan in 1299, Chudasena king of Jūnagarh (1270-1333) again restored the edifice as is evidenced by Khegnan's Gīrnār inscription.

Ind. Ant. Vol. 54, 1925 Suppl. p. 32.

Also see "Somnath as noticed by Arab Geographers". *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1943.

¹⁷ *Ind. Ant.* 1897 pp. 194-95.

confirms the ravaging and looting of Nahrvala and the whole of Gujarāt,¹⁸ while 'Iṣāmī declares that the soldiers, not satisfied with plundering what they could lay their hands upon, dug out and carried away the treasures hidden underground by the Gujarat people.¹⁹

Nuṣrat Khan marched with a contingent to plunder the beautiful and wealthy port of Cambay (Kambāyat of the Muslim chronicles). He exacted an immense booty in bullion, jewels and other valuables from the merchants (Khvajās) and other rich men of the city.²⁰ It was here that the slave Kāfūr, who later played a prominent part in the Deccan campaigns, was forcibly snatched away from his master who had bought him for a thousand dīnārs.

After thoroughly devastating and spoiling Gujarāt, and then leaving an army of occupation, the victorious general returned towards Delhi.²¹ The booty comprised of Kamla Devi, the beautiful queen of Rai Karan, a large number of prisoners of both sexes,²² Kāfūr Hazārdīnārī, and a large amount of gold, jewels and other valuable articles. Besides, each soldier had plundered sufficient wealth for himself.

Mutiny of troops near Jalor.

In the course of the return journey to Delhi the army halted at Sakarṇe, 9 kos from Jalor²³ where the one-fifth

¹⁸ Baranī p. 251.

¹⁹ *Futūḥ* p. 243.

²⁰ Baranī pp. 251-52.

²¹ Alp Khan was appointed governor of Gujarat and reigned there from 1300 to about 1314 A.D. when he was recalled to Delhi and killed through the machinations of Malik Kāfūr. The author of the *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* describes in detail the beauty of the Jama' Masjid of Alp Khan at Patna.

Also see Beyley: *Local Muhammadan Dynasties, Gujarat.*, p. 38.

²² *Vaṣṣāf* bk. IV, p. 448.

²³ *Khayāts*, vol. I, p. 153.

of the loot (Khums) of each soldier was demaded as the share of the state. Dispute arose regarding the surrender of some articles, and various kinds of brutal punishments were inflicted upon the soldiers regardless of position or rank to extort confession from them with regard to their individual gains. If the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* is to be believed they were put under bellows and made to drink saline water; the use of rods and fists was also not spared.²⁴ This inhuman treatment whipped a large section of the army, mostly Neo-Muslims, into open revolt. The leaders of the rebels, according to 'Iṣāmī were Muḥammad Shah Kahbru,²⁵ Yalḥaq and Burrāq, and according to Yaḥya, Iljak, Kasri, Begi, Tamghān, Muḥammad Shah, Timūr Bugha, Shādī Bugha and Qutlugh Bugha.²⁶ Their names also indicate that they were all Mughal converts. They had seized a richly share in the plunder of Gujarāt, and apprehending that a large part of it shall have to be surrendered to the central treasury, they had decided to conceal their possessions. The fiendish cruelty of the royal generals gave them the necessary excuse for rebellion. One morning they murdered Malik A'izzuddīn, Amīr-i-Ḥajīb (Secretary) to Ulugh Khan and brother of Nuṣrat Khan. Next, they attacked the camp of Ulugh Khan, but he had gone out for a wash, and escaped a certain death. The soldiers instead killed a nephew (sister's son) of the Sultan, mistaking him for their prey. Ulugh Khan escaped to the tent of Nuṣrat Khan and the two generals with their unfailing presence of mind ordered drums to be beaten. Loyal soldiers, who had no share in the mutiny, put on their armour under the impression that some neighbour-

²⁴ *T.M.S.* p. 76,

²⁵ Probably Gabru of the *Hammīra-Rasau*, in which he is called the brother of Muḥammad Shah. Ḥajīuddabīr says that Muḥammad Shah had 3,000 horse under his command. *Zafarūl Vālī* p. 790.

²⁶ *T.M.S.* p. 76.

Futūḥ p. 244.

ing Hindu ruler was upon them and assembled in front of the tent of Nuṣrat Khan. The Mughals were overtaken by consternation and fled. The sagacity of the imperial commanders had saved the situation and the trouble was over within four days. Muḥammad Shah and Kahbru sought shelter with Rana Hammīra of Ranthambhor, while Yalhaq and Burrāq went to Karan,²⁷ the vanquished king of Gujarat then staying in Nandurbar²⁸ as a guest of Ram Deva of Devagiri. The mutiny of the troops had proved abortive; even so it had terrified the royal generals, and they quietly proceeded towards Delhi²⁹ without demanding on the way any more of the one-fifth for the state.

The chief conspirators in the rebellion had escaped, but a different fate awaited their families at Delhi. The moment 'Alā'uddīn heard of the outbreak he ordered the wives and children of the mutineers to be seized and imprisoned. But the heartless Vazīr Nuṣrat, not satisfied with the punishment the Sultan had already inflicted upon these innocent victims, committed other barbarous acts on his arrival at the capital. To avenge the death of his brother he seized the wives of the murderers of A'izzuddīn, and delivered them to the embraces of the scavengers of Delhi, while their little children were ordered to be cut to pieces in the very presence of their mothers. The barbarities shocked the sentiments of the contemporary chronicler, who asserts that the seizure of "wives and children for the fault of men dates its commencement from this period" and that such punishments have "never been allowed by any code of religion."³⁰

²⁷ *Futūḥ* p. 245.

²⁸ Vide chapter VIII.

²⁹ They seem to have marched *via* Mathura where Ulugh Khan built a mosque. *Epig. Indo-Moslemica*, 1938, pp. 59-61.

³⁰ *Baranī* p. 253.

The Year 1299 A.D.

While Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan were busy reducing Gujarat, Sultan 'Alāuddīn was confronted with a foreign invasion. Saldi a Mughal chief had invaded the north-west and occupied the fort of Sivistan. Zafar Khan was appointed to lead an army against him. The brave warrior defeated the Mughals and sent many of them as prisoners to Delhi. In the meantime Gujarat was conquered. Thus 1299 proved to be a very fortunate year for the Sultan. Multan had been conquered a couple of years back. Saldi, an adventurous Mughal had been defeated and the prosperous kingdom of Gujarat had been annexed. 'Alāuddīn's undertakings all turned out well, one after another, and despatches announcing victories were pouring in from all quarters. Every year two or three sons were born to him . . . the whole of his state affairs, in short, were satisfactorily managed agreeably to the utmost wish of his heart. In his magazine he beheld vast treasures, . . . numerous elephants and 70,000 horses. He also found two or three vast countries firmly bound under his rule, and the idea of any adversary or rival in the kingdom never crossed his mind."³¹

The Wild Projects of 'Alāuddīn.

Intoxicated with all these incentives to pride 'Alāuddīn thought of the most extraordinary and fantastic schemes and began to "conceive of impossibilities and absurdities." One of his plans was to found a new religion, so that like the Prophet his name also might be carried down to posterity. Prophet Muhammad had, the Sultan would argue with his boon companions, four comrades Abu Bakr, 'Umar, Usmān and 'Alī, and so had he, four equally brave and loyal generals—Alp Khan, Nusrat Khan, Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan. He could, with the force of his arms, and those of his daring and

³¹ *Ibid.* pp. 261-62.

faithful servants, establish a religion which would continue to flourish long after he had passed away from the land of the living.³²

Another plan of 'Alāuddīn was to repeat the role of Alexander, and carry his conquests far and wide. As Edward Gibbon aptly remarks "So long as mankind shall continue to bestow more liberal applause on their destroyers than on their benefactors, the thirst for military glory will ever be the vice of the most exalted characters."³³ The praises of Alexander transmitted by a succession of poets and historians have kindled the imagination of many an ambitious prince, and 'Alāuddīn is only one of them. He used to consult his intimate companions on the plan of leaving a viceroy at Delhi to carry out the administration, and himself marching out and bringing to his feet both east and west as the Greek emperor had done. He even caused himself to be styled Sikandar Sānī (Alexander the Second) in his coins as well as in the public prayers.

Although everybody in and outside the court could see that the Sultan talked about these projects out of sheer arrogance and stupidity, yet being afraid of his bad temper they could not but express their approval. Their hypocrisy led the king to imagine that his schemes were simple and prac-

³² It is useless to speculate upon the nature of the religion 'Alāuddīn had in mind. Probably the Sultan himself did not think about it beyond his expressions of a wish to introduce a religion. He wanted to do something which would immortalize his name as the Prophet's had been. Beyond this wish, however, 'Alāuddīn had neither the determination nor the intuition to found a religion. But the people in general were apprehensive of his inordinate ambition, and knowing that he had repeatedly expressed a wish to found a new religion they believed that that new religion must be quite different from the Muhammadan faith, and that its enforcement would entail slaughter of a large number of Musalmans.

Baranī pp. 262-64.

³³ Gibbon: *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

licable. In one of the drinking parties, however, in which the Sultan used to elaborate his awry schemes, Malik 'Alāulmulk, 'whose bulky person could not take the trouble of visiting the Sultan more than once a month', also happened to be present. In course of conversation he fearlessly told the Sultan that religion was a matter of revelation from God, and could not be founded on the basis of human intellect or wisdom. He argued that world conquerors like Changiz had tried hard to propagate their creed by shedding the blood of Muslims at large, but they had failed to subvert the faith of Islam. Moreover, argued the Kotvāl, if the people heard that the king was thinking of encroaching upon their religious beliefs, they would, one and all, turn away from his allegiance, and tumult and sedition would arise on every side. As to the plans about world conquest 'Alāulmulk expressed his admiration at the idea but added that conditions were not so favourable as they had been in the time of Alexander. The kingdom of Delhi did not have such a stable foundation as the Greece of Alexander. Again the Sultan did not have counsellors and intellectuals such as Aristotle, who would manage the affairs of the state during the absence of the sovereign.³⁴

The Sultan listened with rapt attention to the peroration of 'Alāulmulk. He promised not to talk in future about founding a religion. "But", asked he, "When so much wealth and elephants and horses have come into my hands, if I make no conquests, and subdue no territories, and content myself with the kingdom of Delhi only, of what use will all these resources be to me, and how shall I acquire a reputation for wonderful achievements?"

In answer to this, 'Alāulmulk suggested two alternatives. Firstly, there was a vast field for conquest in Hindustan it-

³⁴ The whole dialogue between 'Alāuddīn and 'Alāulmulk shows the vague and fantastic notions Baranī had about the history of Greece. *Baranī* pp. 264-71.

self. The strong and independent kingdoms of Ranthambhor, Chittor, Chanderi, Malwa, Dhar, Ujjain and the provinces of Bihar and Bengal,³⁵ were still unsubdued in the north, while to the south of the Vindhya, the field was open for innumerable enterprizes. Secondly, the Sultan could effectively check the inroads of the Mughals by strengthening the strongholds on the north-west and by appointing trustworthy commanders. And when the whole of Hindustan had been conquered and the Mughal menace ended for ever, the Sultan could, if he so wished, embark upon a policy of extra-territorial aggrandisement and send his armies abroad.

The counsellor also brought home to the king's mind the necessity of refraining from drinking to excess, and from the constant pursuit of field sport. Excessive drinking, said he, caused delay and interruptions in the smooth working of administration, and it produced a very bad effect on the general public, who were surely induced to revolt if the king was negligent. 'Alāulmulk also suggested that if he could not altogether give up drinking he should take wine in small quantities, but all alone without holding convivial parties.

This bold and candid piece of advice impressed the Sultan; he could now clearly discern the impracticability of his grandiose schemes. 'Alāulmulk was generously rewarded with a 'garment wrought in gold with pictures of tigers, a woven belt, half *man* gold, ten thousand *tanka*hs, two caparisoned horses and two villages'', and he was raised head and shoulder above the other nobles of the state.³⁶

By the irony of circumstance 'Alāuddīn received a yet more practical lesson from the invasion of Qutlugh Khvājā, which occurred about the close of the year 1299. This invasion, which was one of the greatest that occurred in 'Alāuddīn's

³⁵ The text has 'from the east bank of the Saru (Sarjū),' which means practically the whole of Bihar and Bengal.

³⁶ Baranī p. 271.

time, would be treated in detail in another chapter, suffice it here to say that the victory of the Sultan over his enemies was as miraculous as it was glorious, and awakened him from his unpracticable dreams. He now determined to finish independent kingdoms by subjugating them and unify the country by giving it a uniform administration.

Hereafter 'Alā'uddīn embarked upon an unceasing round of conquests. Mightiest thrones tumbled before his troops, and the most powerful Rajas bowed to his authority. From 1300 to 1310 he waged incessant wars in northern India; the most bloody of them, as can well be expected, were fought in the historic land of Rajputana. He also sent a successful expedition of Malwa. But the most humiliating episode of 'Alā'uddīn's life occurred in Bengal, wither, in all probability, his army met with a crushing defeat.

The Expedition to Warangal via Bengal (1302-3).

The year which witnessed Chittor campaign,³⁷ also saw the despatch of an army to Warangal under the command of Malik Jūna, son of Ghāzi Malik and Malik Jhūjhū, governor of Kara and nephew of Nusrat Khan. Choicest troops were placed at the disposal of the commanders and they were ordered

³⁷ Baranī (p. 300) puts the invasion of Chittor, the expedition to Warangal and the invasion of the Mughals under Targhī in one and the same year. He also says that 'Alā'uddīn received the news of Targhī's invasion while he was on his way back from Chittor. The situation at the capital, therefore, after the king's return from Chittor was very serious and he could not have thought of sending an expedition "consisting of the choicest troops" at a time when the Mughals were preparing to attack Delhi. In all probability, therefore, the expedition was sent before 'Alā'uddīn marched to Chittor and Ferishtah also writes so. Amīr Khusrāu gives the date of the march to Chittor as Monday the 8th of Jamadi-ul-Akhir 702 (January 26th., 1303). Thus Malik Jūna must certainly have left Delhi about the beginning of 1303 or in the last months of 1302 A.D.

to take the eastern route via Bengal and Orissa.³⁸ The sultan as a prince had himself marched into the Deccan peninsula; but he had then taken the Ellichpur route which was shorter than the one via Bengal and Orissa. "For some obscure reason", writes col. Woolseley Haig, "this expedition marched on Warangal, the capital of the Kākatiya rajas, by the then unexplored eastern route, through Bengal and Orissa."³⁹ This "obscure reason" becomes manifest when we cast a glance at the contemporary events in Bengal.

The province was passing through a period of turmoil in the year 702 A.H. (1302—03 A.D.). Sultan Nāṣiruddīn, son of Balban, had ruled in Bengal almost independently with his own *khutbah* and coinage when his son Kaiqubād was the sultan of Delhi. The province was not affected by the *Khaljī* revolution, nor did Jalāluddīn, after his accession in 1290 interfere with the affairs of that distant region. Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd either died before 1291, or his son Ruknuddīn Kaikaūs assumed kingship even while his father was alive.⁴⁰ Col. Haig, however, thinks that Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd died in the year 1291 and "was succeeded by his next surviving son Ruknuddīn Kaikaūs, who, though he used the royal title and coined money in his own name owed allegiance to 'Alāūd-dīn *Khaljī* of Delhi."⁴¹

Numismatic evidence shows that Ruknuddīn reigned from 691 to 695 A.H. (1292 to 1296 A.D.) as no coins of his bearing a date later than 695 A.D. have been found to exist. Nothing is known about his life or the year of his death, until

³⁸ *Baranī* pp. 299-300.

Ferishtah p. 111.

³⁹ *Camb. Hist. India*, III, p. 108.

⁴⁰ Thomas :

The "Initial coinage of Bengal." *J.A.S.B.* 1867, pp. 1-73,

⁴¹ *Cam. Hist. India*, Vol. III, p. 261.

Thomas : *Chronicles* pp. 148-49.

we find Shamsuddīn Fīroz establishing himself at Lakhnauti in the year 701 A.H. (1301—2 A.D.). In fact the history of Bengal of this period is shrouded in obscurity and it is difficult to know whether Ruknuddin died in 701 A.H. or was ousted by his brother Shamsuddīn Fīroz who established himself in Western Bengal.⁴² Not much is known even about Shamsuddīn except that his coins which range from the year 701 to 722 A.H. (1302 to 1321 A.D.) indicate his possession of Lakhnauti during that period. His coins minted at Sunargaon establish his possession of the eastern provinces of Bengal also.⁴³ It is significant, however, that Shamsuddin felt strong enough to style himself as "Sultan" as is clearly manifest from his coins. It is quite probable that the outbreak of the various rebellions of Ikat Khan, Hājī Maula and 'Umar and Mangū, as also Sultan 'Alāuddīn's pre-occupation at Ranthambhor, might have induced Fīroz to assume independence. This view is supported by an inscription on the Madrasa of Zafar Khan in Hugli District.⁴⁴ It is dated 713 A.H. (1313-14 A.D.) and mentions Shamsuddīn Abul Muzaffar as the reigning monarch. 'Alāuddīn could never have tolerated Bengal to become independent of the Delhi Sultanate. In fact he had an eye on Bengal even before he

⁴² Thomas : *Chronicles* p. 193.

⁴³ Many a veteran numismatist like Thomas (*J.A.S.B.* 1867 p. 45), Lanepoole (*Catalogue of Indian coins in the British Museum, Muhammadan states*, p. 10) and Nelson wright determine the period of Fīroz's reign from 702 to 722 A.H. But in a hoard of coins of Bengal kings recently discovered from Kalna, District Burdwan, there are four silver coins of Shamsuddīn Fīroz struck at Lakhnauti bearing the date 701 distinctly inscribed round the margin.

See *Jour. Num. Soc. of India* vol. V, Part I, pp. 65-66,

⁴⁴ This inscription is copied and translated by Blochmann in his "*Notes on the Arabic and Persian inscriptions in the Hoogli District*" *J.A.S.B.* 1870 pp. 280-88. The title on the inscription confirms that Fīroz Shah must have been firmly established in western Bengal.

became king. On his return from Devagiri he had despatched Zafar Khan to make preparations for the occupation of Bengal in case he failed in his plans against Jalāluddīn.⁴⁵ Again, when Zafar Khan's popularity had excited the envy of the Sultan the latter had thought of giving the former a large force and ordering him to seize and govern Bengal.⁴⁶ Pre-occupation with other affairs had left him no time to prosecute his designs. But when Fīroz's conduct became intolerable, he made up his mind to send an army in 1302-3 A.D. Thus the object of the campaign was two-fold—to punish the recalcitrant Fīroz,⁴⁷ and, if possible, to effect the conquest of Warangal.

No detailed account of the expedition has been given by Ziyāuddīn or Ferishtah. From their narratives it is not even clear if the army ever reached Warangal. Ferishtah, while describing the second expedition to Warangal under Malik Naib Kāfūr, says that on a previous occasion an expedition had been sent to Warangal through Bengal but since it had come back confused and shattered without accomplishing anything, a second expedition was sent to that country under Malik Kāfūr.⁴⁸ He does not say where the catastrophe befell the

⁴⁵ *Baranī* pp. 228-9.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 254, has

او را چند هزار سوار دهد و طرف لکهنوتی فرستد
تا اقلیم لکهنوتی بگیرد و همانجا باشد -

⁴⁷ In 1302 A.D. when the expedition was sent, Chittor, Jalor, Sevana, Malwa, Bihar and Bengal and so many kingdoms in north India itself were out of the pale of the Muslim government. Why then did 'Alāuddīn think of the conquest of Telingana all at once while most of north India was yet unconquered? Moreover, 'Alāuddīn conquered the Deccan kingdoms from 1308 A.D. onwards, when he had subjected almost the whole of northern India. Thus the expedition of 1302 meant to accomplish the conquest of Warangal was in fact sent to Bengal as will be clear hereafter.

⁴⁸ Ferishtah p. 118.

imperial army. Baranī, however, says that the army reached Arangal (Warangal) but as rains had set in nothing could be accomplished.⁴⁹ Baranī's meagre information about this expedition may be due to the reason that the unpleasant affairs of Bengal might have been kept secret by 'Alāuddīn. As early as in 700-701 A.H. (1300-02 A.D.) the sultan had to face a number of revolts. He was much upset. While at Ranthambhor, he made a secret of the rebellion of Ḥajī Maula. Under such circumstances and in keeping with his habit he should have kept secret any risings or reverses, and hence the silence of Baranī. Moreover, Ziyā Baranī was ignorant of the local history of Bengal. He all along thought that Bengal was peaceful under the rule of Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd, son of Balban, throughout the reigns of 'Alāuddīn and his successors, until the time of Ḡhayāsuddīn Tughlaq, who, on his march towards Bengal found Nāṣiruddīn in Tirhut and reinstated him.⁵⁰ The historian has clearly confused Nāṣiruddīn son of Shamsuddīn Fīroz with his grandfather of the same name. He would thus have us believe that the same Nāṣiruddīn ruled for forty three years. Such a contention is untenable against overwhelming numismatical and epigraphical evidence. Had Baranī been a little more informed about the contemporary events in Bengal some further information about the expedition, which was, in fact, directed mainly against Bengal and only incidentally against Warangal, would have been given by him.

In short the enterprize failed altogether and Malik Jūna and Malik Jhūjhū returned with their shattered forces to join the Sultan at the capital, but were stopped in the vicinity of Badaon as Qutluḡ Khvājā was investing Delhi. In Bengal Shamsuddīn Fīroz remained firmly secure as ever and wielded authority until 722 A.H. (1321 A.D.) while Warangal does not seem to have been affected at all by the expedition.

⁴⁹ Baranī p. 300.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p. 451.

CHAPTER VIII

JAISALMER AND RANTHAMBHOR

Speedy success in Gujarat whetted 'Alāuddīn's appetite for further conquest. He turned his attention towards the Rajput states, all of which were independent of the sultanate of Delhi. The Rajputs were the flowers of Indian chivalry. If they could be subdued, the prestige of the Imperial arms would be immeasurably enhanced, and in proportion the prospects of future expansion.

Attack on Jaisalmer.

As early as 1299 Rajputana had tasted of the 'Alāi arms. The bardic lore of Rujputana gives two invasions of Jaisalmer¹ by the Khalijīs, the first one in 1286, in the time of Jalāluddīn, and the other in 1295 by Sultan of 'Alāuddīn. The unlearned bards to whom the facts about these invasions were known through tales carried down from generation to generation wrongly assign the first invasion to 'Alāuddīn and the second one to Jalāluddīn.² This is simple anachronism and no "wilful perversion" of facts as Col. Haig is prone to think.³ But only on the ground of this mistake it cannot be said that Jaisalmer was never invaded in the time of 'Alāuddīn.⁴ True, contemporary Muslim chronicles make no mention of an invasion of Jaisalmer, yet there is positive mention of one in the bardic literature. The first invasion came off in 1286 in

¹ Jaisalmer is everywhere encircled by desert. It is an oasis in which wheat, barley and even rice are produced. Tod, vol. III, pp. 1261-62.

² Nainsi: *Khayāt* (Hindi) vol. II, pp. 298-305.

³ *Cam. Hist. India* vol. III, pp. 532.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 532.

which 3,800 Rajputs died on the battle field and 24,000 women perished in the flames. Jaisalmer was occupied by a Muslim garrison, but its occupation did not last longer than a couple of years.

The second invasion of Jaisalmer came off in the time of its Bhatti chief Dūdā who was elected to occupy the throne because, probably, the royal prince had died fighting the Musalmans or had retired to some secluded place.⁵ Dūdā ruled for ten years and even extended his raids to Ajmer and carried off the horses of the Sultān⁶ from Anāsāgar (lake) where they used to be watered. This outrage provoked another attack upon Jaisalmer and the same tale of woe and misery was repeated. 16,000 women sacrificed themselves in the fire of Jauhar while Dūdā with Tilak Singh and 700 of his clan fell on the field of battle.

The date of 'Alāuddīn's invasion of Jaisalmer given by the bards is doubtful as 'Alāuddīn had not even ascended the throne in 1295 A.D. But *Tarikh-i-M'āsūmī*, probably the only Persian history which refers to this invasion, mentions that the army of 'Alāuddīn raided Jaisalmer on its way to Gujarat (1299) and the date of M'āsūm is quite acceptable in view of the fact that the Rajput bards were not very keen on citing dates and even where they have done they are liable to be incorrect. Mīr M'āsūm says:—

از سلطان علاالدین حکمی رسید که الح خان به تسخیر
گجرات نامزد شده بانصف لشکر سنده از راه جیسلمیر عازم گجرات
شود چون الح خان بالشکریاں به جیسلمیر رسید، آن قلعه را فتح
نموده کفار بسیار بقتل رسانید، و دو بیست سوار در قلعه جیسلمیر
گذاشته بدیگر لشکر با عنکر (?) گجرات منحق شد —⁷

⁵ Also see *Indian Historical Quarterly* 1935 pp. 150-52.

⁶ *Khayāt* has Fīroz Shah which means Jalāluddīn but in this case obviously 'Alāuddīn is meant.

⁷ *Tarikh-i-M'āsūmī* Text p. 44.

Conquest of Ranthambhor (1301).

The attack on Jaisalmer was a mere raid as compared to the invasion of Ranthambhor. In fact Ranthambhor⁸ was the first state to be selected for the trial of strength with the Rajputs; firstly, because of its proximity to Delhi; secondly, because of the failure of Jalāluddīn to capture it; and thirdly, because of its reputed impregnability. Added to these were a handy excuse and a justification. The Mughal rebel Muḥammad Shah and his brother Kehbru, the leaders of the mutiny near Jalor, had been given shelter by the Rana of Ranthambhor. Though no contemporary historian gives this fact as a cause for the invasion but circumstantial evidence supported by later writings unmistakably does strengthen the hypothesis.⁹

At the time of 'Alāuddīn's invasion Ranthambhor was ruled by the Chauhan prince Hammīr Deva, a direct descendant of the renowned Prithvī Raj.¹⁰ Muslim invaders had repeatedly tried to establish their authority in Ranthambhor but

⁸ Ranthambhor now lies in the S. E. corner of Jaipur state. It is situated on a rocky plateau 1578 ft. above sea level. According to Amīr Khusrāu it was situated at a distance of two weeks' march from Delhi and was surrounded by a massive wall 3 kos in circumference.

See Jour. of Indian Art 1915-16 p. 36 footnote.

Deval Rani p. 65.

⁹ *Hammīr Kavyās* mention Hammīr's giving shelter to Muhammad Shah as the cause of 'Alāuddīn's invasion. This is corroborated by Iṣāmī.

¹⁰ An important record stone found in Kota state chronologically mentions the Chauhans of Ranthambhor—Prithvī Raj, Vagbhata (Bahada), Jaitra Simha and Hammīr. Hammīr is described as having defeated some Arjuna in battle, wrested Malwa and then built a three storied golden palace named Pushpaka, which, it has been suggested, may be identical with the present state palace of Jaipur at Ranthambhor.

Arch. Sur. Rep. 1920-21 p. 34.

without success. It was attacked by Qutbuddin Aibak in 1209, and was captured by Iltutmish in 1226, but it regained its independence soon after. In 1291 Jalaluddin Khalji marched against it but finding the fortress impregnable gave up the idea of capturing it. But 'Alauddin was made of a different stuff. He ordered his two generals Ulugh Khan, governor of Bayana and Nuṣrat Khan, governor of Kara, to invade Ranthambhor with the forces at their command. The joint armies¹¹ moved towards the Rajput stronghold and on their way captured and plundered Jhain¹² without encountering any resistance. Before arriving in Ranthambhor Ulugh Khan sent a message to the Chouhan prince that his master bore no grudge against the Rai and if the latter either put the fugitives to death or surrendered them to him, the imperial armies would return to Delhi. He further argued that when his suppliants had not proved faithful and loyal to those who had given them life and honour, how could they be expected to behave otherwise towards their new patron? In the end Hammira was asked to be ready for consequences in case he refused to act in accordance with the instructions contained in the letter.¹³

But Hammir was not to be cowed down. He declined to betray his guests into the hands of those who were determined

¹¹ According to Hammir Kavya (Bid. Ind. Text English preface p. 29) the imperial forces consisted of 80,000 cavalry and a very large infantry.

¹² 'Isami writes that when Ulugh Khan took Jhain it got a new name of "Shahr-i-Nau." Badaoni corroborates him and says, "It (Jhain) is known under the name of Nau Shahr." Neither Jhain nor any site bearing its changed name Nau Shahr is traceable on the maps now. A small place "Naigaon", however, which exactly means Shahr Nau lies at a short distance east of Ranthambhor. This may probably be indentified with the Jhain of Barani.

Futūh p. 261.

Badaoni, vol. I p. 190.

¹³ *Futūh*. p. 263.

to kill them. He sent word that he did not want to court the sultan's enmity, but he was not afraid of it either. To the gallant Chouhān the promise of shelter to the Mughal nobles as well as the ancient glory of his house formed the severest justification for accepting the challenge of the Muslim generals.

No sooner did Ulugh Khan receive Rānā Hammīr's reply than he ordered his army to march to the destination. The army erected their camps in the neighbourhood of the fortress and ordered construction of entrenchments and batteries (Gargach)¹⁴ By this time Hammīr Deva had completed his preparations for defence. Yahya estimates that the Rāi had under his command 12,000 cavalry, famous elephants and innumerable footmen.¹⁵ According to Amīr Khusrau the Raja had about 10,000 fleet-foot horses.¹⁶ The Rajputs unceasingly sent forth missiles and projectiles from the fort.¹⁷ By chance Nuṣrat Khan was struck by a missile and died of his injuries within a short time. The Muslim camp went into a mourning at the loss of such an able commander. Upon this the valiant Rajputs, mistaking the silence in the imperial camp as a sign of its having been overtaken by a sense of defeat, relinquished their defensive position, and sallied forth from the fort and

¹⁴ *Arrada, gargach, minjniq* and *pashib* frequently occur in the description of warfare in the medieval period. The first three are stone throwing machines, although it is difficult to give their exact points of distinction. *Pashib* was a raised platform constructed by sand and other materials to escale the walls of the fort.

¹⁵ *T.M.S.* p. 77.

¹⁶ *Deval Rani* p. 65.

¹⁷ Baranī (p. 272) has *sang-i-maghrabi*. In all probability *sang-i-maghrabi*, or western stone, was some kind of missile used in warfare in 'Alāuddīn's days. It is difficult to agree with the view that the *sang-i-maghrabi* were cannon balls as suggested in the *Islamic Culture*, 1938, pp. 405-18.

attacked the besiegers.¹⁸ Ulugh Khan could not withstand the impact of the onslaught and precipitately fell back on Jhain. That 'Alāuddīn had underrated the strength of the Rajputs, was clear to everybody. Ulugh Khan duly reported to the sultan the death of Nusrat Khan, and the retreat of the army from Ranthambhor. 'Alāuddīn now decided to march in person.¹⁹

¹⁸ Ferishtah says that the Rāi attacked with 200,000 men. The figure seems exaggerated.

¹⁹ A number of Hamīr Rāsas depicting the life-story of Rana Hammīr of Rastambhapura (Ranthambhor) have been written from time to time. The earliest Rāsa is by the Jain euidite Nyaya Chandra Sūri (C. 1450 V.S., 1393 A.D.) written at Gwalior. Almost all Rāsas give the same facts about the life of their hero, with a few minor differences here and there. According to these Mahākavyās Rana Hammīr was the son of Jaitra Singh and his queen Hira Devi. After giving the prince excellent advice about the business of the government, the old father retired to jungle to live a life of recluse and conferred the government on Hammīr, in Sam. 1330 (1283 A.D.). Rana Hammīr gave shelter to a fugitive Mahim Shah who had incurred the displeasure of sultan 'Alāuddīn because a queen of the sultan, Chinnā Begum by name, had bestowed her affections on the Mughal nobleman. (According to Muslim historians Muḥammad Shah had fled from the Muslim camp after the Jalor mutiny). Sultan 'Alāuddīn demanded the surrender of the fugitive but the Rana refused to surrender him. Consequently the Sultan invaded Ranthambhor. At that time Rāna Hammīr was twenty-eight years old.

According to the Mahākāvya of Jodhrāj (composed 1828 A.D.) "the fort is very strong and inaccessible.....Five large tanks strengthen the defences of the fort.....It is guarded by a body of 600 Nāgās, all veteran soldiers..... Its supply of provisions and ammunitions is immense."

In his defence against the forces of 'Alāuddīn Hammīr was helped by Rao Randhīr, an uncle and subordinate of the Rāna. Two princes of Chittor, Kanh and Balansi also came to the help of their uncle Hammīr, but Sarjan Sah, a merchant of the Sharaoji (Bania) sect of Buddhists, promised 'Alāuddīn help in the capture of the fort. Sharaoji was inimical to the Rajput prince and he made up his mind to avenge the death of his father at the hands of the Rāna.

Attempt on 'Alāuddīn's life

Soon after the sultan left Delhi with a large army for Ranthambhor. He halted at Tilpat²⁰ for some time during which he used to go out hunting. One day when he had gone in a neighbouring village called Badah, he ordered arrangements to be made for big game shooting (nargah).²¹ While such preparations were going on the sultan seated himself on a basket chair (morha). All of a sudden he heard some men shouting "Lion, Lion", and a shower of arrows rained on him. Completely confused, he at once got down from the morha with which he shielded himself. Two arrows, however, struck his arm, and he fell down unconscious. This treacherous and cowardly attack had been planned by his nephew Sulaimān Shah, surnamed Ikat Khan, a son of his younger brother Muhammad. Ikat Khan held the post of Vakil-i-dar. It occurred to him that just as 'Alāuddīn had obtained the throne by murdering his uncle, so also could he kill his uncle and occupy the throne. With this intention he had come to the hunting ground with some followers,—most of whom were neo-Muslims,—and had attacked the king. Fortunately, 'Alāuddīn was wearing a thick garment stuffed with cotton (قبا، دگلہ) and the arrows had not struck any vital part of his

Secretly he threw hides into the provisions stored up in the fortress and thus polluted them. Muslim historians also affirm that the fort capitulated on account of scarcity of provisions. According to the Hammīr Kāvyaś Rāna Hammīr was not killed on the field of battle but when he began to despair of victory he severed his head with his own hands and offered it to god Mahadeva.

J.A.S.B. 1879 pp. 186-252.

Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII, 1879 pp. 55-73.

²⁰ It is a plain about 12 miles east of old Delhi and south of Kilughari.

²¹ Baranī p. 273. *Nargah* was the name of the sport in which an animal was encircled from all sides and then shot at.

body. He had only become unconscious. Ikat Khan arrived on the spot and tried to sever the head of the king. But some of the loyal retainers had guessed everything, and they hedged 'Alāuddīn round from all sides and began to cry loudly that the Sultan was dead. The foolish and inexperienced Ikat, partly because he was unable to dismount and lay hands on the sultan, and partly because he was in a hurry to seize the throne, readily believed the welcome shouts of the paiks. He dashed off towards Tilpat, entered the royal pavilion and seated himself on 'Alāuddīn's throne. He proclaimed to the people that he had slain the king, and they readily believed him for they thought that had he not done so, he would hardly have ventured to mount the throne. "A great tumult and uproar consequently arose throughout the imperial camp, and everything began to turn topsy turvy. The elephants were caparisoned with haudās and brought before the royal pavilion; the household servants came out, and every one stood in waiting at his proper post."²² Ikat Khan, after giving an audience to the courtiers and men wished to enter the royal *haram*, but Malik Dīnār, the chief custodian, together with his men barred his way, and insisted on Ikat's bringing the sultan's head before he could be permitted to enter it.

As Sulaimān was pondering over the strange demand of the Malik, "the head of 'Alāuddīn all too soon appeared, set alertly as ever on its shoulders, as the living sultan showed himself to the army on a neighbouring knoll." It had so happened that when 'Alāuddīn had been wounded by the arrows most of his men had fled helter skelter. Only a few of his loyal bodyguards (paiks) had remained with him. When Sulaimān had galloped off towards Tilpat, the sultan's attendants dressed his wounds and nursed him. Soon did 'Alāuddīn regain consciousness, but the loss of blood had made him extremely weak and nervous. He thought that some in-

²² *Baranī* p. 274.

fluent barons must have lent their support to the young man, otherwise he could not have dared to make such an audacious assault. Consequently, he decided to abandon his camp, and proceed straight to his brother Ulugh Khan at Jhain and consult him on the future course of action. But Malik Hamid-uddīn, who held the post of Amīr-i-Koh (Director of Agriculture) advised the king to proceed to the royal camp immediately. "No sooner will the insignia of royalty become visible to the people and the courtiers", argued he, "and the safety of your august person become known to them, than will they repair to your threshold—and in the twinkling of a moment the head of the traitor Ikat Khan will be cut off and fixed on the point of a spear. Should the night, however, elapse without it being made known to the people that your majesty is safe, it is probable that some one may join the wretch, and the insurrection become much more formidable than at present."²³ The suggestion appealed to the sultan and he set out for the camp immediately. On the way whosoever from amongst his men saw the sultan alive, at once joined him, so that, by the time he arrived near the encampment he had a following of five to six hundred horse. 'Alāuddīn ascended an eminence and showed himself to the people. All the courtiers forthwith repaired to the royal presence. Finding that all was over for him, Ikat Khan fled towards Afghanpūr. Malik A'izzuddīn and Malik Naṣīruddīn Nūr Khan, two prominent nobles were sent in pursuit and overtaking him in the vicinity of Afghanpūr they chopped off his head. The traitor's head was fastened to a spear-point and was paraded in the camp. It was later sent to Delhi where also it was paraded throughout the city and then finally it was sent to Ulugh Khan at Jhain. Qutlugh Khan a younger brother of the rebel was also beheaded instantly. The sultan, whose rage knew no bounds, put to death all those who had the least

²³ *Baranī* p. 275.

knowledge or connection with the revolt, confiscated their property, and sent their wives and children as prisoners in various forts.

The Fort of Ranthambhor besieged.

The trouble of Ikat Khan having ended, 'Alāuddīn arrived at Ranthambhor by forced marches and pitched his camp on the Ran, a hillock facing the one on which stood the great citadel. With the arrival of the sultan the siege was pushed on with full vigour. Leather bags were distributed to the soldiers to bring sand and stone-ballast and fill up the ravine that separated the two hills. But the Rai kept himself fully informed of the strategy of the royalists and foiled all attempts of the enemy to fill the ditch.²⁴ Moreover fire was constantly kept up from the fort in reply to the fire of the projectiles hurled by the besiegers and vast numbers were killed on both sides.²⁵

The Revolt of 'Umar and Mangu.

While the siege was thus dragging on indecisively intelligence reached the sultan of another revolt. Taking advantage of his absence from the capital his two nephews (sister's sons) 'Umar Khan and Mangu Khan, governors of Badaon and Avadh respectively, started an insurrection in Avadh. The exact motive of this rebellion is not known. Very likely, the cruel nature of the Sultan had spurred the disaffected element in the country to rise against him. Add to this the unsettled procedure of succession in those times. Further, the rebellion of Ikat might have given an incentive to the two princes to try their luck as well. The sultan at once deputed some experienced nobles and the trouble was soon got under. The two raw youths were captured and sent to Ranthambhor, where, in the very presence of the sultan, their eyes were

²⁴ *Futūḥ* p. 265.

²⁵ Baranī p. 277.

sliced "as pieces of melon". Their families and followers were exterminated.

The Insurrection of Hājī Maulā.

Following close upon the abortive revolt of 'Umar and Mangu, intelligence arrived in the imperial camp of a serious outbreak in Delhi. This insurrection was one of the numerous attempts of the Ilbarites to regain the sovereignty. The chief conspirator was one Hājī,²⁶ a prominent slave of the former Kotvāl of Delhi, Malik Fakhruddin. Hājī Maulā was a man of "the most sanguinary, audacious and depraved disposition." At the time of revolt the Hājī was the superintendent of the crown lands at Ratol,²⁷ and Tirmizi was the Kotvāl of Delhi. Tirmizi seems to have been of a very harsh and uncompromising nature, and the people of Delhi were utterly disgusted with him. At that time he was engaged in the repair of the Badaon Gate, and to supervise the construction had taken up his residence in a small house close by. Also in those days temporary huts had been pitched in the plain of Sirī where a new fort was under construction and the Kotvāl of Sirī 'Alāūd-dīn Ayāz, was staying there. Thus both the kotvāls were busy, one at the Badaon Gate, and the other at Sirī and the sultan was far away in Ranthambhor. At this very time reports of the distress of the soldiery at Ranthambhor were constantly arriving, and it was rumoured that the troops were ever intent on relinquishing their jobs but for fear of the sultan's severe punishments. Considering the moment opportunity and fancying that in their distress the people in the camp and at the capital would lend him their support, Hājī Maula rose in open rebellion. In the scorching heat of a noon in

²⁶ Hājī Maulā was the chief *Shahnah* of Delhi in the time of Sultan Jalāluddin. *Ferishtah* p. 107.

²⁷ Ratol or Rataul lies 15 miles north-east of Delhi and is included in the Baghpat Tehsil of Meerut District.

the month of Ramzān 700 (May 1301), when most of the people were taking a siesta, and very few people were passing to and fro in the streets, Hāji Maula accompanied by four armed men went to the residence of Tirmizi and called him to come out. He declared that he had been deputed by the sultan to deliver him a message. The kotvāl without suspecting any danger came out of his house, and was instantly beheaded. Everybody present there was quite bewildered when Hāji Maulā produced a forged warrant from under his arms, and told the people that he had killed the kotvāl by the order of the king. He then ordered all gates under the charge of Tirmizi to be shut up. The news of the kotvāl's murder spread like wild-fire, and the towns folk were so frightened that "the door of every house throughout the city was kept closed." After disposing of Tirmizi the Hāji attempted to kill 'Alāud-dīn Ayāz, the kotvāl of the new fort, under the same pretence of a royal warrant. But Ayāz had come to know of the Hāji's treachery and when he was called by the Hāji to come out and listen to a royal command, he refused. At the same time he had the gates of the new fort strongly secured.

Hāji Maulā was now all powerful in Delhi. He released all the prisoners of the state, some of whom joined him. To give strength to his cause and to gain fresh supporters, he ransacked the royal treasury and squandered its money among the populace at large. He distributed arms and horses to his followers and "whosoever became his ally had his lap filled with gold." Nonetheless Hāji Maulā's position was not safe. He was an imposter, a usurper who had no claim to the throne. He, therefore, hunted out a puppet who could play the nominal king, while he himself could enjoy the real power. The choice fell on a Saiyyad named 'Alvī, who, according to Baranī, was known as a descendant of Shah Najaf, and on his mother's side was related to Sultan Shamsuddīn Iltutmish. This innocent man was forcibly abducted from his residence by the Hāji, and placed on the throne. All the

nobles and great men of the capital were compelled to come and pay him homage. The people in general were terribly afraid because 'Alāuddin's revenge was implacable. Owing to the dread of the miscreants, the people of Delhi gave up food and sleep, and passed their days and nights in greatest anxiety. 'Alāuddin had been apprised of the revolt only three days after its outbreak. He had kept the fact secret from everybody, but as a precautionary measure had sent Malik Ḥamīduddin to Delhi.²⁸ But when the reports of the insurrection and of the accession of a puppet king at Delhi began to pour in, he sent his brother Ulugh Khan to punish the rebels. But before Ulugh Khan arrived in Delhi, the trouble had almost been got under by Malik Ḥamīduddin. Ḥamīduddin accompanied by his sons and relatives had forced his way into the Ghazni Gate, and entering the city had marched to the Bhandarkel Gate. A short skirmish had ensued between him and the rebels. Hājī Maula was defeated, but his power for mischief was not totally destroyed. By chance some followers of Zafar Khan had arrived at the capital from Amroha to present a petition to the court. They joined the royalists. The Hājī's party was utterly destroyed. The gallant Amir-i-Koh dragged the Hājī down from his horse and sat upon his chest. In spite of the constant shower of arrows he did not stir from there until he had done the Hājī to death. He then went to the Red Palace, and struck off the head of the worthless 'Alvi. It was fixed upon a spear, paraded through the streets of Delhi, and then sent to the sultan at Ranthambhor.

Malik Ḥamīduddin then rounded up all the confederates

²⁸ Ḥamīduddin was present in the royal camp at the time of Ikat Khan's revolt. He, therefore, surely accompanied the sultan to Ranthambhor. From Ferishtah's narrative it appears that the Amir was present in Delhi when the revolt broke out. It appears that Ḥamīduddin was sent to Delhi either when the revolt of 'Umar and Mangu broke out or at the very start of the insurrection of Hājī Maulā.

of Hājī Maula, from whom he recovered all the money they had received from the traitor, and restored it to the royal exchequer. While this inquisitorial process was going on Ulugh Khan arrived from Ranthambhor, and put to death all the rebel captives "making a torrent of blood to flow." Determined as he was to extirpate the rebels as also to set an example for the people, he put an end to the line of Malikul Umara Fakhruddīn, the former kotvāl of Delhi. The descendants of the kotvāl had no concern with the revolt; their only fault was that Hājī Maulā had been their man in days gone by.

The Capitulation of Ranthambhor.

The investment of Ranthambhor had proved to be a long drawn out affair. During this while a general like Nusrat Khan had perished, attempts on the sultan's life had been made, and the empire had been convulsed with rebellions; and yet 'Alāuddīn's determination to take the fort had not faltered in the least. The army was reduced to extreme distress, but not a single soldier dared to desert the camp for fear of the sultan's imposing a fine of three years' pay upon him.²⁹ While the open country around had altogether been ruined, a spirit of despair had begun to overtake the Imperial troops. Cut off from the capital, the soldiery was certain in its belief that they were destined to perish under the impregnable walls of Ranthambhor. In secret 'Alāuddīn would deliberate with his confidential nobles about the causes of the successive revolts and the seriousness of the situation, but outwardly he showed as if nothing of importance had happened, and pressed the siege with great vigour. The soldiers, finding it impossible to fill the whole ravine, concentrated on filling a small portion of the moat with bags filled with sand and stone and succeeded in reaching the outskirts of the fort. But the Hindus kept throwing fire and missiles and succeeded in keeping

²⁹ *Baranī* p. 279.

the enemy away from the battlements for two or three weeks more. At last provisions fell short in the fortress and soon famine raged to such an extent that one "grain" of rice could be purchased only for two "grains" of gold. "Man can bear every affliction but that of a starving stomach," says Amīr Khusrau, and the valiant Rajputs could not bear the pangs of hunger. In the imperial camp, on the other hand, gold was distributed freely among the troops to give them fresh incentive to fight. When nothing remained in the fort except hardship, despair and starvation, the heroic act of Jauhar was performed. A blazing fire was lit and the ladies of the Rai, headed by Ranga Devi,³⁰ the chief queen of Hammīr, perished on the pyre. The remnant of the Rajput soldiery, their nobles and king, donned saffron garments and dashed forth to engage the enemy in a last combat. They fought desperately for there was not the least desire to save a single life. The battle raged fiercely and blood flowed on every side. Muḥammad Shah and Kehbru, grateful to the last to the Rajput king for his hospitality and sacrifice, fought side by side with their patron. At last the great Rana Hammīr fell, fighting gallantly on the field of battle, as yet in the prime of his life.³¹ 'Iṣāmī asserts that none of the Rai's family was captured alive.³²

The gallant fight and death of Rana Hammīr has been attributed by some writers to his persistence (Hammīr hath);³³ but it must be admitted that Hammīr is one of those gallant

³⁰ Har Bilās Sarda: *Hammīr*. p. 44.

³¹ A memorial tablet at Gadhala, District Shivapur, also says that the hero of *Hammīr Mahākāvya* was slain in 1301 A.D.

Arch. Sur. India Rep. 1916-17, p. 20.

³² *Futūḥ*. p. 267.

³³ Ten beautiful paintings of 19th century depicting the capture of Ranthambhor as described in the *Hammīr Kāvya*s are contained in the *Journal of Indian Art*, 1915-16.

sons of Rajputana who died fighting the Muslim invader to save the ever-cherished independence of thier motherland. Once he had given shelter to Mughal noblemen, he could never betray them into the hand of their enemy. Hammīr fought with sublime courage, and upheld the noble traditions of the chivalrous race to which he belonged.

Ranthambhor had capitulated on Tuesday the 3rd of Zil-qada 700 (July 11, 1301).³⁴ Its fall had been accelerated by the defection of Ranmal and Ratanpāl, two ministers of Hammīr. Ranmal, who had gone to 'Alāuddīn to settle terms on behalf of the Rajputs, agreed to desert to the sultan, and obtained a written undertaking from him granting him complete amnesty. Ranmal showed the document to his Rajput friends and some of them together with Ratanpāl left the beleagured garrison for the royal camp.³⁵ But after 'Alāuddīn had captured the fort he punished the faithless Rajputs, Ranmal and others, saying that when they had not proved true to their old patron how could they be expected to be faithful to him.³⁶ But just the contrary was the treatment he accorded to Mir Muḥammad Shah whose wounds he ordered to be dressed. Even in pangs of death, the valiant soldier spurned any offer of attention. He openly insulted the sultan for which he was trampled under the feet of the elephant. But the sultan could never forget the bravery and loyalty of the Mughal noble and gave him decent burial.

The surrender of Ranthambhor witnessed the usual zeal for iconoclasticism and plunder. A number of temples, chief amongst which was the temple of Yahar Deo (Har Deva) were

³⁴ *Khazain*. Habīb trs. p. 41.

³⁵ *Zafarul Vāli* p. 807.

³⁶ *Ferishtah*, p. 108.,

Har Bilas Sarda: *Hammīr* pp. 38-42.

The defection of the ministers has also been mentioned by Chandra Sen Sūri in the *Hammīr Kāvya*.

razed to the ground. Many "temples and houses in the city were destroyed" and "the centre of Kufr became the abode of Islam."³⁷ The fortress of Ranthambhor together with the territory of Jhain was entrusted to the care of Ulugh Khan and the Sultan returned to Delhi.

Death of Ulugh Khan.

Almās Bēg governed Ranthambhōr for about six months after which he started for Delhi. On his way to Delhi he suddenly died. 'Iṣāmī attributes the death to poisoning and writes that when Ulugh Khan had heard of the almost fatal injuries to the king, during the revolt of Ikat Khan, he had remarked that if the sultan was dead, his brother was alive to fill the vacant throne. 'Alāuddīn learnt about it from one of his confidential servants. He grew suspicious about his brother and ordered that the latter should be poisoned.³⁸ Hajiuddabir, on the authority of Husām Khan's Tabqāt-i-Bahādur Shahī, also says that Ulugh Khan was poisoned on his way from Ranthambhor to Delhi.³⁹ Ziyā Baranī says, "Ulugh Khan for four or five months during the sultan's absence, enlisted a large force, to effect an invasion of Telingana and M'abar, but he fell a victim to cruel fate and was overtaken by death about the time of his approach to the capital. They brought him dead to the city and buried him in his mansion. The calamity made the sultan very sad. He gave away many charities for the soul of the dead".⁴⁰ Thus Baranī not only does not mention poisoning to be the cause of Ulugh Khan's death; his last sentence goes even to prove the king's innocence. But taking into account the vindictive and unpropitiating temperament of 'Alāuddīn, it is not improbable that he may have been instrumental in his brother's death.

³⁷ Khazāin Allahabad University, Ms. fol. 27 a & b.

³⁸ *Futūḥ* pp. 272-73.

³⁹ *Zafarūl Vālī* p. 811.

⁴⁰ *Baranī* p. 299.

Measures undertaken to ensure Further Conquests.

After his return from Ranthambhor, 'Alāuddīn spent his time in hunting in the suburbs of Delhi. He did not enter the City,⁴¹ perhaps because he had been very much terrified by the various revolts that had recently occurred in the capital. Though contemporary writers do not refer to the fear complex, and attribute the sultan's reluctance to enter the capital to a sense of displeasure and dis-satisfaction on his part towards the inhabitants who had displayed a disloyal behaviour; yet it is clear that 'Alāuddīn assured himself of the security of his life before entering the City where so many efforts to dethrone him had been made in quick succession. Even his predecessor Jalāluddīn had refrained from entering Delhi in the same circumstances. 'Alāuddīn sentenced many prominent men of Delhi to exile, and punished every conspirator who had escaped the cruel justice of Malik Hamīduddīn and Ulugh Khan. The king then set to stamp out the very root of sedition. He confiscated a large number of fiefs, prohibited the sale and use of wine, and even restricted the normal intercourse of barons and influential men. All these measures so varied and so severe in their character will be studied in another chapter, suffice it to say here that the regulations had the desired effect, and in future no serious revolt occurred in Delhi. Secure at home, the sultan could once more think of subjugating the independent kingdoms.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 283.

Futūḥ p. 269.

CHAPTER IX

CONQUEST OF CHITTOR

Success at Ranthambhor was an incentive to fresh conquests in Rajputana. As mentioned above, 'Alāuddīn despatched an army towards Bengal and himself started on the conquest of Chittor—the most renowned citadel in Rajasthan.¹

The fortress of Chittor had been built by the Maurya Raja Chitrāṅg or Chitrāṅgad. From the 8th century onward it was the capital of the Guhilās of Mewār. For a short time it was occupied by the Parmārs, when the Parmār Munja of Malwa snatched it from the Guhilās. Thereafter it had a chequered history in which Gujarat played a prominent part. Ultimately Chittor again passed into the hands of the Guhilā Rajputs and remained with them for a century and a quarter until the year 1303 A.D.—when the terrific assault of 'Alā-uddīn Khaljī put an end to its political independence and peaceful life.

Early Muhammadan Raids.

Rajputana being quite close to Sindh, Muhammadan invaders frequently descended upon it. Like other fortresses of Rajasthan, Chittor had also repulsed a few raiders before the

¹ "The fortified hill of Chittor is an isolated mass of rock rising steeply from the plain, three miles and a quarter long and some twelve hundred yards wide in the centre. The circumference at the base is more than eight miles and the height nowhere exceeds four or five hundred feet."

V. A. Smith: *Akbar the Great Mogal* pp. 82-83.

For a picturesque description of the fortress see Tod. Vol. III, pp. 1812 ff.

Also E. Terry: *A Voyage to East-India*, p. 77.

year 1303. According to the *Chāch Nāmāh* it was subjected to a siege soon after Chāch had ascended the throne of Sindh in 631 A.D. Later in the time of Jaitra Singh (1213-1233 A.D.) Mewār was invaded by Iltutmish some time between 1222 and 1229. But Persian chroniclers are silent about it,² though they refer to Iltutmish's expeditions against Jalor, Mandor and Ranthambhor. The reason for this omission may be the sultan's defeat in the campaign, a fact which is repeatedly mentioned in Rajput inscriptions and bardic literature.³ After Nagod had been ravaged by Iltutmish, Chittor became the permanent capital of Mewār. According to Ferishtah Mewār was next invaded by sultan Nāṣiruddīn Maḥmūd of Delhi whose rebellious brother had sought refuge there. For eight months the rebel was ruthlessly pursued in the hilly regions. Again, in 1299 Ulugh Khan while on his way to Gujarat tried to attack the Mewār country, but as stated above, he was repulsed. At length in the year 1303 Chittor was subjected to one of the greatest sieges in its history.

The Siege

On Monday the 8th of Jamādius Sani 702 (January 28th, 1303)⁴ 'Alāuddīn marched at the head of large army to conquer Chittor. Amīr Khusrau, historian and poet laureate accompanied the sultan on this expedition. He has left a graphic description of the citadel, its siege and final surrender. On his arrival in Chittor the sultan pitched his tents between the two rivers Gambheri and Berach, while the troops encircled the whole town, the right and left wings of the army encamping on either side of the fort. The sultan planted his flag on a hillock, known as Chattravardi or Chittorī on which he held his court and directed the operations of the siege personally.

² Mr. Ojha deals with this expedition in detail.

Rajputana ka Itihās, (Hindi) vol. II, pp. 463-68.

³ Ibid. pp. 470-71.

⁴ *Khazāin*, Habīb Trs. p. 47.

At the time of 'Alāuddīn's invasion Rānā Ratan Singh, son of Rānā Samar Singh and grandson of the valiant Jaitra Singh, was the ruler. He had ascended the throne in C. 1301 A.D.⁵ According to Amīr Khusrau the Rana of Chittor was the most exalted of all the Hindu rulers, and all the kings of Hindustan acknowledged his superiority.⁶ Describing the awful grandeur of the fortress the poet says that the citadel, which was cut out of a huge rock, was wonderful, and despite the onslaughts of the *minjñiq*, it was not affected in the least. The brave Rajputs, under their gallant leader Ratan Singh offered a heroic resistance for full eight months, but then they gave way. No trustworthy account, contemporary or even later, of the various siege operations, tough battles and stratagems that would surely have occurred during these eight months, is available to us.⁷ The fact that the siege was a prolonged one emphatically proves that the garrison were bent upon defending their fortress to the last man. It is not known if the neighbouring princes came to the rescue of Ratan; but considering the constant rivalries and callous indifference of the kingdoms of Rajputana towards one another, it can easily be

⁵ In an inscription dated Sam. 1358 (1301 A.D.) found at Chittor and published in the Rajputana Museum Report 1920-21 the name of the ruling prince is given as Rāval Samar Sinha. Thus Ratan Singh, his son, seems to have ascended the throne some time after 1301 and just before 'Alāuddīn attacked the kingdom in the early months of 1303 A.D.

⁶ *Deval Rani* pp. 66-67.

⁷ Baranī the chief authority of the period only drops a line about the surrender of Chittor. He says (p. 299)

سلطان علاالدین از شهر باز لشکر کشید و در چیتور رفت
چیتور را محصور کرد و زودتر از حصار را بکشد و از آنجا
باز در شهر آمد

Most of the contemporary and even later historians say very little about it. 'Iṣāmī and Yahya say something like Baranī and do not give any details.

surmised that the newly crowned king of Chittor had to fight single handed. An inscription dated Sam. 1517 (1460 A.D.) and preserved in the Udaipur Museum, however, mentions Mahārānā Lakshmī of Sesodia, one of the vassals of Chittor, to have died with his seven sons fighting the Musalmans (under 'Alāuddīn).⁸ This alone shows that the battle before Chittor was terrible, a fact corroborated by Muslim historians.

Before the final surrender of the citadel the Rajput ladies of the fortress lighted the fire of Jauhar in a subterranean cavern which still exists, and perished into the devouring flames to save themselves from enslavement or dishonour. Col. Tod gives a picturesque description of the heart rending scene in which a procession of chivalrous Rajput women, headed by the fair Padmini, queen of Ratan Singh, threw themselves into the fire of Jauhar. "The fair Padmini closed the throng," writes the author of the Annals, "which was augmented by whatever of female beauty or youth could be tainted by Tatar lust. They were conveyed to the cavern and the opening closed upon them, leaving them to find security from dishonour in the devouring element."⁹

The frightful rite of Jauhar having been performed the Rajput warriors fought the Muslim invaders desperately. For long all attempts of the invaders to climb the fort by constructing a *pashib* met with a failure. But then Chittor capitulated after an open engagement on Monday the 11th of Muharram 703 (August 26th, 1303).¹⁰ The heroic resistance of the Rajputs had exasperated the sultan who (just as Akbar did two and a half centuries later) ordered a general massacre of the population. In a single day, says Amīr Khusrau, some

⁸ *Arch. Sur. Rep.* 1925-26, p. 149.

⁹ *Annals*, vol. I, p. 311.

¹⁰ *Khazāin*, Habib Trs. p. 48.

thirty thousand Hindus were "cut down like dry grass."¹¹ After this inhuman massacre the callous sultan "remained in Chittor for some days" and "committed every act of barbarity and dilapidation which a bigotted zeal could suggest, overthrowing the temples and other monuments of art."¹² Chittor was rechristened Khizrabād after the name of the king's eldest son Khizr Khan to whom the citadel was assigned. A red canopy, usually bestowed upon heir-apparents, a robe embroidered with gold and two standards one black and the other green were given to the prince. Thereafter 'Alāuddīn quickly returned to capital probably because he had an inkling of a Mughal invasion.

There is some discrepancy in the accounts of historians about the fate of Ratan Singh. Amir khusrau says that life of the Rānā was spared by the sultan, and is corroborated by 'Isāmī.¹³ But this does not seem probable. When 'Alāuddīn could order a wholesale slaughter of 30,000 Hindus in a single day he would surely not have spared the life of the Hindu King, were he one of the survivors after the heroic defence. According to Nainsi Ratan Singh died fighting sultan 'Alāuddīn.¹⁴ Tod also writes that the ruling prince (whose name he incorrectly puts as Bhīmsi) was killed on the field of battle¹⁵ It is doubtful that the Rānā outlived the capitulation of Chittor as nothing is known about his later life.

The Legend of Rani Padmini

These are in a nutshell the facts about the invasion of Chittor by 'Alāuddīn Khaljī. But a very interesting legend

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 49.

¹² *Annals* vol. I, p. 311.

¹³ *Futūh* p. 272. gives the name of the Rai of Chittor as Sonarsia (Samar Singh). Probably 'Isāmī did not even know of the unfortunate Ratan who had only ascended to be de-throned by 'Alāuddīn.

¹⁴ *Khayāt* (Hindi) vol. I, p. 21.

¹⁵ *Tod:Annals*, vol. I, pp. 311-312.

has grown in this connection. Malik Muḥammad Jaisi, a poet of the sixteenth century wrote an epic "Padmavat" in the year 1540 A.D. in which he attributes the invasion of Chittor to Sultan 'Alāuddīn's desire to obtain possession of Padmini, the beautiful queen of the Raja of Chittor. According to Jaisi, Padmini or Padmavati was a princess of Ceylon and Ratan Singh, king of Chittor, having learnt about her beauty from a parrot went to Ceylon in a mendicant's garb to woo her. As he was passionately in love with her he stayed there for twelve long years. At last Ratan Singh succeeded in winning his love and taking her with him came back to Chittor. A mendicant Raghava by name once had a glimpse of Padmini while she was giving him alms and he swooned at the sight of so superb a beauty. Raghava carried the tale of the extraordinary charms of the queen of Mewar to the sultan of Delhi, and 'Alāuddīn enchanted by the description of Padmini sent a message to Ratan Singh asking him to send Padmini to the royal haram. Ratan Singh was greatly incensed at the behaviour of the sultan of Delhi, who in turn laid siege to the fortress of Chittor. But 'Alāuddīn could not take the fort even after fighting for full eight years. Finding that the fortress was impregnable and the Rana unbending 'Alāuddīn reduced the demand and promised to return to Delhi if he could only have a look at the reflection of the fair Padmini in a mirror.¹⁶ He then returned from the fort and Ratan Singh as an act of courtesy accompanied the sultan up to the gates of the citadel, although his two brave commanders Gora and Badal had warned him about the Turk's vile intentions. As Ratan Singh was leaving the sultan at the gate he was treacherously imprisoned and forcibly carried away to Delhi. The people of Chittor were all aghast at the shameless treachery of the sultan. Soon after a royal order

¹⁶ This is unbelievable. Ratan who successfully fought the Muslims for eight years could never have consented to satisfy such a humiliating and absurd request of 'Alāuddīn.

reached them saying that Ratan Singh could be released only on the condition that Padmini was sent to the royal *haram*. The Rani who heard about the tortures Ratan Singh was being subjected to at Delhi at once conferred with Gora and Badal and decided to go to Delhi. In 1,600 covered litters were accommodated Padmini and some of the bravest Rajput warriors, all armed to the teeth, and it was given out that Padmini and her companions and maids were going to the royal palace. When this party arrived at Delhi, Padmini asked for a favour from the sultan and it was to have a last interview with her lord Ratan, from whom she was to part for ever. 'Alāuddīn, overjoyed at his success, readily granted the interview. The palanquins bearing the brave Rajputs entered the place where Ratan Singh was imprisoned. No time was lost in rescuing him and he and the queen took the road to Chittor. On their flight they were escorted by the brave Rajput warriors under Badal, while Gora gallantly opposed the royal forces which the bewildered sultan had sent to intercept the fugitives. In the battle between the royalists and the Rajputs Gora was killed. The engagement gave ample time to Rana Ratan Singh to reach Chittor safely where great rejoicings were held on his arrival. There he heard about the treachery of Devapala of Bhelnar (Kumbhalgarh), who had tried to seduce Padmini from Chittor in his absence. Ratan Singh invaded the kingdom and killed Devapala but he himself was also wounded in the engagement. Shortly after his return to Chittor Ratan died of the wounds he had received while fighting Devapala, and Padmini and another queen Nāgmāti performed the rites of Sati. In the meantime the sultan again arrived in Chittor and the standard of Islam was hoisted on the soil.

This story of Malik Muḥammad Jaisi in which romance, adventure and tragedy are all beautifully intermixed, very soon gripped the popular mind and here, there and everywhere the story of Padmini was told and retold. The Persian chroniclers who did not very much care to distinguish between fiction and

fact readily accepted it as true history so that after the time of Malik Muhammad Jaisi the Padmini episode is mentioned as a historical fact in many historical works including those of Ferishtah and Hājjuddabīr.

Ferishtah writes the account of Chittor at two places. At one place he says that sultan 'Alāuddīn, after a siege of six months conquered the fort of Chittor, and handed it over to Khizr Khan, whom he declared as heir-apparent. He does not even mention the name of the prince then ruling at Chittor. At another place, while describing the events of the year 704 H. (1304 A.D.) he writes that Raja Ratan Singh, who had been in imprisonment since the invasion of Chittor, effected his escape in a strange manner. Among the women (Zanān) of Ratan was one Padmini, whose beauty and skill had tempted the sultan to crave for her possession. He told the Rana that if he wished to be released he should deliver Padmini to the sultan. Ratan Singh agreed to the proposal and sent for Padmini but his relations disapproved of the dishonourable proposal and thought of poisoning Padmini to save her and her race from infamy. But a daughter of Ratan Singh who was known for her intelligence and dexterity struck at such a plan that she rescued her father from the sultan's imprisonment without his stooping to adopt any dishonourable course. Ferishtah then almost reproduces Jaisi's story of the brave Rajputs going in palanquins and effecting the escape of the Rana. Later on he says that from the day Ratan Singh was safely back in Chittor he began to raid his country occupied by the Musalmans. At last the sultan thought it useless to retain possession of Chittor and ordered Khizr Khan to evacuate it. It was then given over to the nephew (sister's son) of the Rana.¹⁷

¹⁷ Ferishtah pp. 111, 115.

Another important historian who writes about Padmini is Ḥajīuddabīr.¹⁸ He was a contemporary of Ferishtah. His narrative of Padmini episode is varied and he gives more than one version of the story. He says that after the conquest of Chittor its Hindu Raja was kept under imprisonment in a hilly retreat of Chittor itself and 'Alā'uddīn sent him a message from Delhi guaranteeing him liberty if he delivered his wife, who was possessed of certain qualities,¹⁹ to the sultan. Such women, says Ḥajīuddabīr, are called Padmini in Hindustan. Another version, writes the Arabic historian, is that 'Alā'uddīn had demanded the surrendr of Padmini before leaving Chittor and had promised the Rana's²⁰ release in return. Thus says he, it is possible that while the sultan was returning to Delhi the Raja may have accompanied him. He may have requested the Sultan to let him stay in the Mewar country so that he might induce his wife to go to his *haram* and entrust her to the care of whomsoever the sultan ordered, and then himself come to Delhi under protection of the sultan's guards. 'Alā'uddīn in the temptation of the woman left him there and himself went to Delhi. The Raja sent secret instructions to his trusted nobles and servants and they, 2,500 in number, arrived in palanquins, fought, and rescued him. Having heard of this 'Alā'uddīn bestowed Chittor upon a niece (sister's daughter) of the Rana who was married to the sultan; but she was soon killed by the Raja's minister, whereupon the Hindu Raja come back to his country and established his power there. This state or affairs continued till 941

¹⁸ *Zafarul Vālī* pp. 786-88.

¹⁹ Ḥajī does not here use Padmini as a proper name but as a title of a woman possessed of certain special qualities

(قباضه).

²⁰ He does not mention the name of Ratan Singh.

A.H. when Bahādur bin Muẓaffar of Gujarat conquered Chittor.²¹

Relying on the local traditions of the Rajputs and their bardic literature (of the eighteenth century), Col. Tod repeats the story of Padmini in glowing words.

It is necessary to make a close study of the various narratives of Padmini to find out the truth about the story. Various absurdities and inaccuracies in the epic of Jaisi clearly show that it is not a historical fact. Firstly, it was not possible for Ratan Singh, who had reigned only for one year when 'Alāuddīn's invasion of Chittor occurred, to go to Ceylon and stay there for twelve years in quest of Padmini. Then the king in Ceylon contemporary to Ratan Singh was Prakaramabahu IV and neither Govardhan of Jaisi nor Hamir Sank of Col. Tod.²² Again Jaisi's epic mentions that war between 'Alāuddīn and Ratan Singh continued to wage for eight years. This statement lacks corroboration in any writing contemporary or later. Jaisi, moreover, gives Padmini as the cause of the invasion of Chittor but Ferishtah and Ḥajiddabīr, who adopt the story, do not give the acquisition of Padmini as an incentive or pretext for the invasion.

The narrative of Ferishtah, who wrote seventy years after Malik Muḥammad Jaisi is also full of discrepancies. In the description of the capitulation of Chittor he does not even mention the name of the ruler of Chittor, obviously because he depended on the contemporary authority of Amīr Khusrāu, who also misses to mention the name. Later on Ferishtah talks of the escape of Ratan Singh by a stratagem, but he was not certain whether Padmini was a daughter or a wife

²¹ *Zafar ul Vāli* p. 788.

²² Ojha: *Rajputana Ka Itihās* Vol. II. p. 461.

Ind. Ant. 1930 p. 236.

of Ratan Singh.²³ His description of later events in Chittor is also not trustworthy for sultan 'Alāuddīn was not the man to tolerate an escaped prisoner ravaging his son's territories, much less ordering Khizr Khan to evacuate Chittor. Ferishta describes the evacuation of Chittor by Khizr in his narrative of the events of the year 704 H. (1304 A.D.) and says that it was bestowed by the Sultan on a nephew (sister's son) of Ratan Singh. This date for the evacuation of Chittor is incorrect as other evidence shows that Khizr left Chittor long after the year 1304. Moreover could Ratan Singh bear his nephew occupy the throne of Mewar when he himself had come back to his country successful and alive?

The next writer Ḥajīuddabīr's account of Padmini is very confusing. The historian himself was in doubt about what he was writing. He never mentions the name of Ratan Singh and refers to Padmini as a woman possessed of certain qualities and not as a particular person. Then he attributes the stratagem of release to the scheming mind of the Rai and not to Padmini's intelligence. Again, according to him the Rai was not kept imprisoned at Delhi and the historian is not sure whether the demand for Padmini was made before the capitulation of Chittor or after Ratan Singh had become a prisoner in the hands of the sultan. The most surprising fact

²³ At one place Ferishta (p. 115) writes

”بسم بادشاه رسانیدند کہ در میان زنان راجہ چیتور

زنی ست ہدمنی نام“

Which obviously though not literally means that she was one of the wives of Ratan Singh. At many places after this he writes the word *zan* but later on writes that a daughter of the Rai (whose name he does not give)

”دختر راے کہ بفہم و عقل مشہور خویش و قبیلہ خون ہون“

thought of the strange plan of the escape of Ratan, went to Delhi, and rescued her father.

و ہمیں دولت تدبیر دختر خوب سیت از چنگ عقوبت

بادشاه نجات یافتہ

about Ḥajīuddabīr's narrative is that he does not mention the name of Khizr Khan, who according to contemporary writers, was appointed to the charge of Chittor after its capitulation.

Thus the stories of Ferishtaḥ, Ḥajīuddabīr and other later Persian historians and the bards of Rajputana, except in certain minor variations, closely resemble one another and seem to have been drawn upon the Padmavat of Jaisi.²⁴ So that while Jaisi had 16,000, Ferishtaḥ has 700 and Ḥajīuddabīr only 500 litters that went to Delhi. Malik Muḥammad Jaisi and Ferishtaḥ say that the Rana was imprisoned at Delhi while Ḥajīuddabīr thinks that he never went to Delhi and was left a prisoner under guard in his own kingdom so as to induce Padmini to go to 'Alā'uddīn. According to Jaisi it was the queen Padmini, according to Ferishtaḥ it was a daughter of Ratan, and according to Ḥajīuddabīr it was the Rana himself who planned the strange stratagem for his escape. Thus except for a few variations the story of Padmini in all the bardic and historical books resembles in broad details that of Jaisi's Padmavat. But it is doubtful whether even Jaisi ever meant to write about the life story of a princess of Chittor, while writing the Padmavat. At the end of his book Malik Muḥammad writes, "In this narrative Chittor stands for the body, the Raja (Ratan Singh) for the mind, Singhal-dvip (Ceylon) for the heart, Padmini for wisdom. . , and sultan 'Alā'uddīn for lust (Māyā)."²⁵

²⁴ Most of the historians later than Ferishtaḥ mention Padmini episode in their histories. *Bahrulamvāj* (Bankipore Library Ms.), a general History of India written in the 18th cent. also mentions it.

²⁵तन चित्तर, मन राजा कीन्हा । हिय सिघल, बुधि पदमिनि चीन्हा ।

नागमती यह दुनिया-बंधा । बांचा सोइ न एहि चित बंधा ॥
 राघव हूत सोई सैतानू । माया अलाउदीं सुलतानू ॥
 प्रेम कथा एहि भांति बिचारहु । बूझ लेहु जो बूझै पारहु ॥

From this remark of Jaisi it becomes clear that he was writing an allegory and not narrating a true historical event. May be that the selection of this particular theme may have been inspired by the tragic Jauhar of Chittor in Jaisi's own times when Bahadur Shah of Gujarat invaded Chittor in the year 1534. But once Jaisi had written the romantic story the Muhammadan historians of India, who not unfrequently copied verbatim from the Persian histories also, adopted this story in extenso. The Padmavat was completed 224 years after the death of 'Alāuddīn and 237 years after the eventful siege of Chittor, and not a single historian or chronicler, Persian or Rajasthani, ever wrote about Padmini before the Padmavat of Jaisi was completed.

But one fact causes some hesitation in rejecting the story altogether. "The Mewar tradition which accepts the story is a very old one, handed down from generation to generation," and if Padmini episode was a mere "literary concoction" why did it gain so wide a currency in Rajputana?²⁶ The answer to this, however, is not far to seek. Tradition is not a very authentic source of history and it is not easy to say how old the Mewar tradition is, and whether it is really older than the Padmavat of Jaisi. The bardic chronicles were written long after the completion of the Padmavat and even Ferishtah's *Tarikh*, and it cannot be said with certainty whether the bards based their accounts of Padmini on oral tradition, or on the Padmavat itself. It is quite probable that Jaisi may have struck at the plot of Padmavat from the "terrible battle" of Chittor as Dickens struck at the plot of "A Tale of Two Cities" from the extra-ordinary times of the French Revolution. As to the wide currency it gained in Rajputana it may be said that once such stories are in the air they are repeated everywhere with added incidents and suggestions. The

Jaisi Granthāvali, Padmāvat p. 341.

²⁶ Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *History of Medieval India* p. 226..

romantic story of Padmini got so much currency in India that not only Ferishtah and Hājiuddabir but even the great scandal collector Manucci relates its incidents in connection with Akbar's invasion of Chittor, and says that Padmini was the queen of Raja Jaimal who was rescued from royal imprisonment through the stratagem of litters.²⁷

Against these confused and varied accounts is the testimony of the contemporary historians, poets and travellers, Baranī, 'Isāmī, Amīr Khusrāu, Ibn Battūṭah, and the authors of *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* and *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, who never allude to the Padmini affair at all. All these historians and chroniclers cannot be accused of deliberately entering into a conspiracy of silence on the Chittor episode. Amīr Khusrāu who accompanied the sultan to Chittor has very fearlessly and even exaggeratingly given the details relating to the siege. How can it be said that such an incident as that of Padmini, if it really happened, escaped mention from his pen? The story of Padmini is to be found in Jaisi's Padmavat, in traditional lore, and in those chronicles the accounts of which have borrowed it from the Padmavat and the traditions. Tradition is no doubt a source of history but it is surely the weakest one, and until it is corroborated by contemporary evidence—literary, historical, epigraphical and numismatical—it cannot be accepted as true history. In the case of Padmini the antiquity of the tradition which furnishes the story is not known, while the story itself is a long one. But it cannot be accepted simply because it was so popular and for so long a time. To say that where so much is alleged something must be true is not the historian's job.

Setting aside the traditional narratives of the story the true facts are that Sultan 'Alāuddin invaded Chittor in the year 1303 and after a hard fight of about eight months captured it. The brave Rajput warriors died fighting the invaders;

²⁷ Manucci: *Storia Do Mogor* Vol. I pp. 125-30.

the brave Rajput women perished in the flames of Jauhar. Among those who perished was perhaps a queen of Ratan Singh whose name was Padmini. Except these bare facts all else is a literary concoction and lacks historical support.

Later History of Chittor.

Khizr Khān ruled over Chittor for some years, but not in peace. The valiant Rajputs could hardly bear a foreigner ruling in their land and constantly harassed the royal troops garrisoned at Chittor. At times they grew so daring as to throw the Musalmans down the battlements of the fortress, and it became impossible for the prince and his deputies to stay there. According to Ferishtah the sultan thought it useless to retain Chittor and ordered Khizr Khan to evacuate it.²⁸ But it can well be imagined that the sultan would not have given up the fortress in such an easy way. In fact, the gallant Rajputs who put an edge on the tooth of a mighty emperor like Akbar two and a half centuries later, rendered impossible the stay of Khizr Khan in Chittor and 'Alāuddīn ordered Khizr Khan to vacate it. Chittor was handed over to Maldeva, brother of Kānhar Deva Chouhān, the Songara chief of Jalor. Maldeva had saved 'Alāuddīn from a fatal accident during the siege of Jalor and as a token of gratitude the sultan bestowed upon him the governorship of Chittor²⁹ some time between the years 1313 and 1315³⁰. Maldeva remained all his life a tributary to the sultan and sent him pre-

²⁸ *Ferishtah* p. 115.

²⁹ Nainsi *Khayāts Vol. I* p. 153.

³⁰ There is some discrepancy in Ferishtah's statements about the time of Khizr Khan's evacuation of Chittor. While describing the events of the year 704 A.H. (1304 A.D.) Ferishtah writes, "At length finding it of no use to retain Chittor the sultan ordered prince Khizr Khan to evacuate it and to make it over to the nephew of the Raja." But this date

sents, and always joined the imperial standard in the field with 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot.³¹

The Rajputs, however, were never willing to submit to a puppet of the sultan and created difficulties in the way of Maldeva. Maldeva's greatest enemy was Hammir, Rānā of Sesoda, whose grandfather Lakshman Singh had died with his seven sons including Arsi Singh, father of Hamvir, fighting in the battle of Chittor. After Ajai Singh, the only uncle of Hammir who had survived the memorable battle, Hammir became the Rana of Sesoda estate and constantly waged war to obtain Chittor. Maldeva tried to conciliate him. He married his daughter to Hammir and ceded certain parts of Chittor to him, but the brave Rānā was determined to regain the whole of Chittor. At last his efforts were crowned with success and after the death of Maldeva in about 1321 A.D. Hammir became master of the whole of Mewar, and assumed the title of Mahārānā. In an inscription of Mahārānā Kumbhā's time, dated 1438 A.D.; Hammir is said to have killed a large number of Musalmans and earned renown.³² Hammir's descendants have ruled Mewar to the present day.

is wrong. An inscription dated the 10th of Zilhijjah 709 (13th of May 1310) in Chittor mentions 'Alāuddīn as the ruler. It reads:—

شہر بار جہاں محمد شاہ - آفتاب زمان و ظل اللہ
 بوالمظفر سکندر ثانی - شد مسلم برو جہانبانی
 محشر ذو الحجۃ موسم قریب - سال بد ہفتصد و نہ ازہکراں
 تا ہون عید قبلۃ عالم - باد ملک شاہ بنی آدم

Thus it is certain that Chittor was not evacuated by the imperialists till the year 1310. Ferishtah himself describing the events of the year 1311-12 says that "the Rajputs at Chittor threw the Muhammedan officers over the walls and asserted their independence", which clearly means that until that year the imperial garrison was present in Chittor and it had not been handed over to Maldeva till then.

³¹ Ferishtah p. 115.

³² J.B.B.A.S. Vol. XXXIII, p. 50.

CHAPTER X

MALWA SEVANA JALOR

The conquest of Malwa (1305).¹

The capitulation of the mighty kingdoms of Ranthambhor and Chittor, maintains Amīr Khusrau, opened the eyes of the Rajputs to the irresistibility of the Turkish arms and they all submitted to 'Alāuddīn without risking a battle. Rai Mahlak Deva of Malwa, however, "forsook the path of loyalty" and prepared to defend his country against the Muslim aggressor.²

Muslim arms had penetrated into Malwa long before 'Alāuddīn invaded it in 1305 A.D. In 1231-32 A.D. Shamsuddīn Iltutmish had marched against it, captured the fort of Bhilsa and sacked Ujjain, in the course of which he broke the famous temple of Mahākālī.³ But this was merely a plundering raid, and as soon as Iltutmish returned to Delhi Raja Dēvapāla continued to rule there as before. A tiny expedition was also led during Jalāluddīn's reign, but in the time of 'Alāuddīn it sustained a terrific assault and the kingdom was annexed to the Delhi Empire.

According to Amīr Khusrau⁴ Rai Mahlak Deva of Malwa possessed thirty to forty thousand cavalry and an innumer-

¹ This expedition has not been mentioned by Baranī. Khusrau describes it in *Khazāin* and refers to it in *Deval Ranī* also.

² *Khazāin*. Habib Trs. p. 43.

³ For details see Ojha: *Rajpūtānā kā Itihās* (Hindi) vol. I pp. 201-203.

⁴ *Khazāin*. Habib Trs. p. 43.

Deval Ranī Text p. 67.

able infantry.⁵ Mahlak's foster brother and commander-in-chief of the forces was Koka Pradhāna, an accomplished statesman and a brave warrior. Seeing their recalcitrant attitude 'Alāuddīn appointed a select body of 10,000 troops under the able commander 'Ainul Mulk Multani⁶ to march against Malwa. On their arrival the royal forces created consternation in the country. In an engagement Koka was killed on the field of battle where "so far as human eye could see, the ground was muddy with blood."⁷ His head was sent to Delhi to be trampled under the feet of the horses below the palace gates. Koka's death precipitated the flight of Rai Mahlak Deva to Mandu.

'Ainul Mulk Multānī administered the country well and peace was soon established. A short time after he marched with his forces against Mandu which, according to Khusrau was "the key to the conquest of Deccan." A contingent of Mahlak Deva, under the command of his son, encountered the invaders but it sustained a defeat and the prince was slain. The fort of Mandu was beleaguered. Meanwhile a traitor from the town pointed out to the Muslim general a private passage and he entered the fort in the darkness of the night. Mahlak Deva and his garrison were taken aback at the sudden appearance of the enemy inside the fortress and in the confused flight that followed the Rānā was killed and the royal army gained mastery of the city, 5th of Jamādī-ul Avval 705 (November 23rd. 1305).⁸

⁵ Yahya, Ferishtah and Hājiuddabīr all say that the Raja had 40,000 horse and 100,000 foot.

⁶ 'Ainul Mulk was a master of pen as well as sword. *Deval Rani* pp. 67-68.

⁷ *Khazāin*. Habib Trs. p. 44.

⁸ *Khazāin* Habib Trs. p. 46.

The author of T.M.S. gives the date of the conquest of Malwa as 700 A.H. (1300-01 A.D.) but he is incorrect. The contemporary Khusrau gives the above date.

Soon after the fall of Mandu, the cities of Ujjain, Dhār⁹ and Chanderi were reduced and their chiefs were forced to recognise the suzerainty of the sultanate. 'Ainulmulk sent a detailed account of his exploits to Delhi where rejoicings were held for full one week and sweets were offered to the public on all the seven days.¹⁰ Both Malwa and Mandu were entrusted to the charge of 'Ainulmulk Multānī as a reward for the brilliant success he had achieved and the eminent services he had rendered.

*Capture of Sevānā (1308).*¹¹

After the conquest of Malwa 'Alāuddīn sent his brilliant generals Malik Naib Kāfūr and Nuṣrat Khan to the south and himself seized an opportunity to attack Sevana. Sevana was then in possession of a Parmār Rajput chief Sital Deva. Sital Deva had witnessed the mighty citadels of Ranthambhor and Chittor succumb to the onslaughts of the Khaljī warlord, but still he refused to submit to the Delhi sultan. Sital Deva was a powerful and energetic ruler. He had defeated many Rāis in battle and a number of Rajput Rāvats acknowledged his suzerainty.

An inscription incised on a soft white stone refers to the construction of a mosque during the reign of Muhammad Shah 'Alāuddīn in the country of Koka (Koka Desa) in 711 A.H. (1311 A.D.). This inscription which belongs presumably to Chanderi shows that Koka was either very popular or a very powerful minister and the country was known by his name and not by that of its ruler Mahlak Deva.

See *Indian Historical Quarterly* vol. I 1925 pp. 653-56.

⁹ A portion of the iron pillar now preserved in the museum at Anand High School, Dhār, is believed originally to have been set up at the principal temple in Mandu (perhaps a Vaishnava one), and was broken by 'Ainulmulk Multānī in his raid of the city in 1305.

Arch. Sur. India. Rep. 1902-03 pp. 205-12.

¹⁰ Ferishtah p. 115.

¹¹ Sevana is a town situated 50 miles to the S. W. of Jodhpur.

The sultan marched on the 13th of Muharram 708 (July 2, 1308)¹² to chastise the ruler of Sevana. On arrival there, he began the investment of the fort. The right wing of the royal army was stationed on two sides, east and west, of the battlements; the left wing on the north; and the centre was entrusted to the command of Malik Kamāluddīn "the wolf." A constant shower of arrows was kept up from the *minjīnāq* but success was not in sight for a long time. The royal forces resorted to many stratagems, but all in vain.¹³ The Hindus defended the fort stubbornly, threw fire and stone from the battlements and for months together "breath was choked by the sounds of the Turkī flutes and Hindī bells." After great difficulty the imperial forces succeeded in escalating the battlements of the citadel. Sītal Deva tried to fly to Jalor,¹⁴ but ran into an ambush and was done to death (23rd Rabiul Avval 708; November 10, 1308). According to *Khusrau*, Sītal Deva possessed an elephantine stature, and when his huge head was presented to the sultan all were astonished to see it. The administration of Sevana was entrusted to Kamāluddīn Gurg and 'Alāuddīn himself returned to Delhi.

Capitulation of Jalor (1311)

Rai Mahlak Deva's recalcitrance was imitated by the Chouhan Raja of Jalor,¹⁵ and a similar treatment was meted

¹² Alld. Uni. Ms. fol. 34 gives this date. The Ms. of Elliot also had the same date, but Prof. Habīb's Ms. has 11th of Muharram 710 H (1310 A.D.).

Khazāin Trs. p. 53.

¹³ *Futuh*. p. 307.

¹⁴ Ferishtah incorrectly says that Sītal Deva sent a golden effigy of himself to the sultan and begged for pardon which was granted. Probably, but mistakenly, Ferishtah attributes the story of Ballāl Deva of Deccan to Sītal Deva, who according to *Khusrau*, 'Isāmī and Yahya was killed during the capture of Sevana.

¹⁵ In ancient times Jalor was known as Jabalipura. In

out to him. Kanhar Deva of Jalor, also known by names of Saligram, Gokalnath¹⁶ and Krishna III, was the son of Sōm Singh a dependent of the Solankī Bhīm Deva of Gujarat.¹⁷ After sultan 'Alāuddīn had consolidated his authority in Marwar Kanhar Deva's semi-independent status was construed as contumacy and his country was invaded.

Nainsī describes two sieges of Jalor by 'Alāuddīn. The first occurred at the time of the royal army's return from Gujarat in 1299 and the second in 1311. As the sultan himself did not lead the forces to Gujarat, the details given by Nainsī about the siege of 1299 may not be quite accepted, as he always refers to the king's presence there; but Ferishtah also mentions two expeditions to Jalor. While describing the events of the year 704 H. (1304 A.D.) Ferishtah writes that as the imperial generals Alaf Khan (Alp Khan) and Nuṣrat Khan were returning from the conquest of Malwa they arrived at Jalor and Nahar Deo (Kanhar Deva) taking lesson from the fate of Kōkā offered his submission to the sultan without even a show of resistance. The other invasion according to Ferishtah came off in 1308 and was the outcome of a very curious incident. One day while Kanhar was present in the court he heard 'Alāuddīn say that there was no one among the Hindu Rajas who could dare challenge the might of his arms. The remark pricked Kanhar's sense of pride and he picked up the gauntlet retorting "If I wage a war and do not come out successful, I may be killed."¹⁸ This effrontery enraged the sultan and he ordered an invasion of Jalor, while Kanhar had already slipped to Jalor to make preparations for war. Hājī

1210 Iltutmish had captured it but after a short time it regained its independence. The fort which crowns a hillock is about one thousand feet high. It is situated about 50 miles south east of Sevana.

¹⁶ Nainsī: *Khayat* vol. I p. 153.

¹⁷ *Reu: Marwar ka Itihās* (Hindi) p. 11.

¹⁸ *Ferishtah* p. 118.

uddabir almost repeats the same story.¹⁹ The behaviour of Kanhar Deva, however seems very striking. It is really strange that at one time he flies to Delhi to pay homage to the king of his own accord, professes unflinching obedience for four years and then suddenly adopts such an insolent attitude that he puts himself and his subjects in extreme jeopardy. Neither the reasons given by Nainsi²⁰ nor by Ferishtah and Hājīuddabir are convincing. The real cause of the invasion was in all certainty the determination to put an end to the independence of Jalor as was done with the other states of Rajputana.

In short, the army marched towards Jalor in A.D. 1311. The name of the commander of the expedition is not known but he does not seem to have been a brave general.²¹ The Rajputs defeated the royalists in a number of engagements

¹⁹ *Zafar-ul Vāli* pp. 788-89.

²⁰ An interesting, though uncorroborated, reason has been given by Nainsi. He says that a princess of 'Alāuddīn's *haram* fell in love with Vikram, son of Kanhar Deva, who was on attendance at the court in place of his father. The sultan and the ladies of the *haram* first threatend the girl to change her mind, but finding her adamant 'Alāuddīn insisted on Vikram to marry her. The young Rajput could never think of marrying a "Turk" girl and left for Jalor promising to return with a wedding party (*bārāt*) after some time. The sultan suspected a ruse on the part of Vikram and kept a Rajput prince of the house as hostage. As was expected Vikram never returned to marry the girl and the sultan was so much incensed at his treachery that he invaded Jalor.

²¹ According to Ferishtah (p. 118), *Gul Bihisht*, a concubine of 'Alāuddīn captained the force. She fought valiantly but all of a sudden died of a short illness. Her son Shahin continued the warfare but was killed in an engagement not long after. It seems ridiculous that a concubine was put in command of an army constituted of brave Turkish officers and men, and they willingly served under her. No contemporary historian gives this fact, and the story which appears to be nothing more than a concoction of Ferishtah's imagination, should be summarily rejected.

and the latter beat hasty retreats. It is certain that the battle of Jalor was terrific, and perhaps a prolonged one. According to the Gujarati epic romance *Kanhad de Prabandh*,²² the contest continued for some years, and the imperialists met with a number of reverses in their first attempts to take Jalor.

The news of the humiliating retreats put the sultan to his mettle and he sent a strong force under the veteran Malik Kamāluddīn Gurg. On his arrival in Jalor, Kamāluddīn pressed the siege with unabated vigour. At last Gokulnath, his son Vikram Deva and their followers were killed in a close combat and the fortress fell. Maldeva, a brother of Kanhār Deva, survived the massacre that followed the fall of Jalor. Later on, he was able to secure the good will of the sultan, who as shown before, appointed him to take charge of Chittor from Khizr Khan.

Nainsi's date (Sam. 1308, 1311-12 A.D.) of the fall of Jalor is in conflict with that of Ferishtah (708 H., 1308 A.D.). In 1308 the conquest Sevana was undertaken and a large army was sent to the Deccan also. It is, therefore, very probable that Jalor was attacked at a later date. Again Nainsi's date finds corroboration in the *Tirtha Kalpa* of Jaina Prabha Sūri who says that in Sam. 1367, 1310 A.D. 'Alāuddīn destroyed the temple of Mahāvīra at Sanchor, a place near Jalor. The desecration of this temple must have been a part of the larger enterprise, namely the invasion of Jalor.²³ Mr. Reu also concludes that Jalor capitulated in 1311 A.D.²⁴ To commemorate this victory 'Alāuddīn had a mosque erected in the famous fort of Songir at Jalor which is still in existence.²⁵

²² Commissariat. *Gujarat*, Vol. I, p. 12.

K. M. Munshi: *Gujarat and Its Literature* pp. 102-5.

²³ Also see Ishwari Prasad: *A History of the Qarauna Turks*, vol. I, p. 26.

²⁴ Reu: *Marwār ka Itihās* (Hindi), p. 15.

²⁵ The building now known as Topkhānā was originally a mosque said to have been built by 'Alāuddīn.

After some time the Rajputs recovered their sway over Jalor and it continued till nearly the end of the 14th century.

With the capitulation of Jalor almost all the leading states of Rajputana had been subdued one after another. Jaisalmer, Ranthambhor, Chittor, Sevana and Jalor, and the kingdoms adjoining them—Būndī, Mandore and Tonk had all been invaded²⁶ Jodhpur (Marwār) also appears to be under the Sultanate. Although there is no specific mention of its capture by 'Alāuddīn, yet in an inscription at Pandua (in Jodhpur), dated Sam. 1358 (A.D. 1301), Alavadi ('Alāuddīn) of Joginipura (Delhi) is mentioned as the ruling king.²⁷

Thus by the end of the first decade of the 13th century, the whole of Rajputana, the glorious land of Indian chivalry, lay bare at the feet of the emperor of Delhi. But complete subjugation of Rajputana was impossible, and 'Alāuddīn's success there was of a dubious nature.

The Character of Rajputana Campaigns and the Causes of Rajput defeat.

Ever since the sultan had embarked upon the conquest of Ranthambhor in 1300, till the fall of Jalor in 1311, his armies had constantly fought in Rajasthan. It was below the dignity of the sultan to recall his forces once the siege of a fortress had been begun, and the valour of the Rajputs could not brook the insult of giving way to the enemy. The result was that bloody battles were fought before each and every fortress. To enumerate the various wars in Rajputana, then, is to repeat the horrors of blood and slaughter, of gallant fight, of glorious martyrdom. Sometimes before a single citadel the contest prolonged for years, and ended in a general

Arch. Sur. India Rep., 1930-34, Part I, p. 50.

Also Commissariat;: Gujarat, vol. I, p. 50.

²⁶ Tod: *Annals*, vol. I, p. 311.

²⁷ *Arch. Sur. India Rep.* 1909-10, p. 131.

massacre of its population accompanied by the gruesome destruction of the womenfolk in the fire of Jauhar.

Unluckily the Rajputs who spurned life without freedom, possessed valour without the spirit of union. Individual fortresses offered stubborn resistance, but singly none of them was a match against the sultanate of Delhi. Had even two or three Rajput princes combined against the sultan, they would surely have succeeded in defeating him. But secure in their mountain fortresses, each one of them was content to mind his own affairs and exult in his own pride, while 'Alā'uddīn raided and subdued one kingdom after another. The case of Sevana and Jalor is a glaring example of the callous indifference of the Rajput chieftains towards one another. While the fall of Sevana was imminent the ruler of Jalor, living only about fifty miles from there, was unmoved, with the result that after a couple of years Jalor was also taken in another assault.

Another reason of the Rajput defeat was their forts. They were generally constructed on the top of some hillock and were designed to protect women, children and cattle when the brave defenders sallied out to encounter a sudden invasion. And although it was difficult for the invaders to ascend step by step the steep cliffs of the hillock, yet the citadel, when subjected to a siege, was always rendered separate and secluded from the plains below. Thus the corns and revenues of outlying districts automatically fell into the hands of the enemy. During investment not all the people of the vicinity escaped in time to seek shelter inside the citadel; a large number of them were left on the plains below. Their distress though^{it} made them hate the enemy, did in no way dispose them loyally towards their rulers inside the Citadel.

The conditions inside the fortress, again, were not very satisfactory. During an investment the crowd far exceeded the number of the normal inhabitants, and there were no special arrangements for extra provisions and vegetables.

The enemy lying at the base of the hill on which the fort stood, could easily cut off the convoy, and it was always the dearth of provisions that rendered defence impossible. The mighty fortresses of Ranthambhor, Chittor and Jalor—all surrendered to famine. Again, medieval conditions of sanitation were no preventive against outbreak of epidemics. To add to this, caste considerations and orthodoxy reigned supreme. The enemy was alive to these weaknesses of the Hindus and took full advantage. The instance of Ranthambhor is worth repeating. Through the services of some traitor, hides were thrown inside the grain cellars, provisions were thereby rendered "desecrate" and the fortress surrendered.

The Rajputs were still steeped in their age long traditions of warfare and had little opportunities of developing their military strategy. They had little or no connections with Central Asian countries and were quite ignorant of the revolutionary changes the Mongols had introduced in the art of warfare. Every now and then the sultans of Delhi had to fight the Mongol invaders and were quite conversant with their tactics of ambuscade, camouflage and feigning retreats. They possessed engines of war like *arrada*, *gargach* and *minjniq*. The Rajput fought with huge elephants, in open engagements. Their government was based on feudal principles and fixed quotas of soldiers were provided by the various dependencies in times of war. During an investment such reinforcements could not always arrive because of enemy activity and the beleaguered had to fight single handed.

Moreover, the resources of a Rajput Raja were limited. His country was barren; there was dearth of crops and of water. His only fortune was the hilly nature of the country. How could the Rajput princes then succeed against the sultans of Delhi who possessed the Punjab and Avadh, the most fertile regions of the country, and who could depend upon an unlimited supply of provisions and reinforcements?

Then, the Rajput only knew how to die. To him death on the field of battle was the greatest bliss, the greatest honour. Chivalry was crammed into his very marrow; he hated trick and treachery. As to the Turk, bravery was his first, trickery his second, nature. To him death was the greatest misfortune. He wanted to live in this world and enjoy the fruits of victory. So victory he must have, whatever the means he adopted to obtain it. Thus, while the Rajput flung himself into the battle, the Turk moved after calculating the enterprise. The Rajput fought desperately, the Muslim diplomatically. Diplomacy with the Rajputs was zero, with the Muslims it was the very secret of their success.

But the success of the Sultan in Rajputna was short lived. The Rajputs who had a country to love and an honour to maintain never gave way to 'Alāuddīn's governors. If the day was irrecoverably lost they well knew how to deliver themselves and their families from the insulting invader, and as soon as the deluge of the invasion had ebbed they reclaimed their territories. The result was that 'Alāuddīn's hold over Rajputana was precarious. The occupation of Ranthambhor after Ulugh Khan left it not more than six months after its capture, is uncertain. Khizr Khan had to vacate Chittor in 'Alāuddīn's life time. Bardic literature enumerates continual struggles between the Muslims and the Rajputs. Obviously Rajputana had not completely submitted, and one or the other kingdom in that land of born warriors was always successfully defying the authority of the Sultanate of Delhi.

Achievements of 'Alāuddīn in North India.

But the adventurer who had raided Devagiri just for possessing gold and silver and had murdered his uncle to wear the imperial diadem, was something more than a vile robber or murderer. He had shown his true mettle in Rajputna where he had fought in the sandy deserts of Jaisalmer and the rocky land of Chittor and Ranthambhor, not simply to conquer, nor

only to exhibit the prowess of his arms, but to unify the country under his suzerainty. No greed of gain had hunted him there. With the fall of Jalor not only the whole of Rajputana but the whole of north India had passed into the hands of the sultan of Delhi. In the north-west his armies had marched into Ghazni²⁸ and in the north-east his power had been felt in the far-off land of Nepal.²⁹ From a petty sultan of Delhi 'Alāuddīn had become the emperor of Hindustan by dint of his merit and the burning zeal of his heart. His far-flung dominions were ruled by provincial governors or *muqta's* appointed by him, and all of them served him loyally and obediently.

Side by side with the conquest of north India, 'Alāuddīn embarked upon the conquest of the southern peninsula. There his armies were constantly engaged from 1308 to 1312. The hero of these campaigns was not the emperor himself but his favourite general Malik Kāfūr, who marched out from Delhi and pulled down all the kingdoms of the south one after another. But before making a study of the campaigns into the south, it is necessary to know in detail about the Mughal invasions to India which have been briefly referred to at many places in the preceding chapters.

²⁸ Vide Chapter XI.

²⁹ Vide Appendix A.

CHAPTER XI

THE MUGHAL INVASIONS

The military enterprises of 'Alāuddīn were frequently interrupted by the invasions of the Mughal marauders from the north west. From times immemorial a race of barbarians had inhabited the secluded and wild region north of Gobi desert in China. In the 12th century it produced a "scourge of God". And within a couple of centuries after the birth of Changiz Khan¹ the Mughals or Mongols² became so irresistible and invincible that their very name inspired terror in the east and the west alike. Like a huge inundation their innumerable hosts spread from their mountain home in central Asia³ towards Russia, Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and India. Gibbon compares their rapid conquest "with primitive convulsions of nature, which have agitated and altered the surface of the globe".⁴ Powerful empires or petty states, all ended in smoke before these free-booters. Strong and cultured monarchies as the Khvarizm Shahi of Turkestan and the Caliphate of

¹ Changiz Khan was born in 1154 A.D. at Dilum Bol-dak near the river Oman.

² The word Mongol is derived from "Mong" meaning brave and courageous. Mughal is used by Muslim historians, while Mongol and Tartar are used by European writers. "It denoted, in the first place a group of tribes or nations who composed the armies of the northern invaders, with little or no reference to their racial origin; and secondly, at the time of Babar, it was regarded as something scarcely better than a term of contempt." (Intro. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* Elias and Ross, pp. 88-89.

³ For a graphic description of Changiz's atrocities in Central Asian towns see Vambery: *History of Bokhara* pp. 119-139.

⁴ Gibbon: *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Modern Lib. vol. II, p. 1201.

the Abassides were put to an end, the last Caliph Almustāsam Billāh being pounded to death.⁵ "No invasion in historical times can compare in its accumulated horrors or in its far reaching consequence with that of the Mughals."⁶ They annihilated populations and destroyed civilization.

In the early days of their history the Mughals⁷ lived a miserable nomadic life, breeding cattle and horses, and stood very low in the scale of civilization. The contemporary writings of Ibnul Asir, Juveni, Rashīduddīn as well as Carpini and Rubruquis specify the Mughals as possessed of "yellow skin, high cheek bones, a flat, broad face, black wavy hair and slanting eyes.....small chin, broad fleshy lips, sparkling eyes.....big ears and round skull."⁸ The climate of their country had made their skins sunburnt and yellow.⁹ They were essentially a dirty race, their filthiness being abominable. The men rarely bathed, the women never, and consequently the most common disease among the Mughals was scabies. They ate all kinds of flesh not excepting human.¹⁰ The mongol was a mixture of extraordinary contradictions. He was exceptionally dull when allowed to be so, but could bear excessive hardship when he was

⁵ The gallant resistance of Muhammad of Khvarism and his son Jalāluddīn even extracted the admiration of their bitterest enemy Changiz.

⁶ Sykes: *History of Persia*, vol. II, p. 70.

⁷ The early history of the Mughals is obscure like that of any other tribe of Central Asia. See Sir William Douglas on Mongols in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XIV Edition, Vol. XV, p. 716.

⁸ Howorth: *History of the Mongols*, Part IV, p. 42.

⁹ Amir Khusrāu, who once fell a prisoner into their hands, gives a very striking description of the Mongols.

Qirānus S'adāin, Persian Text, pp. 93-95.

Elliot, vol. III, pp. 528-29.

¹⁰ Vincent of Beavois says that the Mughals were accustomed to eat their bitterest enemies, and to suck their blood. (Yule: *Ser Marco Polo*, Vol. I, p. 30).

required to exert. A great glutton when edibles were procurable, he could go on without food for days together.¹¹ He was possessed of enormous endurance and could ride for forty hours at a stretch, but otherwise he loved to be inert. The women worked hard and possessed a fairly good position in society.¹² They performed household duties, went with men for hunting and even took up arms in the field of battle.¹³ The main occupation of the Mughals, which accounted for their vigour and virility were sport, military exercise and actual fighting.

It was Changiz, "the Great" and "the Accursed", who turned the indolent and uncivilized Mughals into a fighting nation. He trained his troops under a discipline of "Draconian severity" and within the span of a century the Mughals ruled both in Asia and in Europe. Besides, Changiz Khan gave the Mughals a code of law known as Yasak and a number of maxims known as Bilik. The Yasak was applied with unflinching severity and within the life time of Changiz Khan many of the flagrant evils among the

Carpini writes that in one of the Mongol sieges in China when the army was without food, one man in ten of their own force was sacrificed to feed the rest (Howorth, Pt. IV, p. 53). He gives a horrid account of the dirty feeding of the Mughals. He says that they ate dogs, wolves, foxes, rats and horses.

¹¹ Carpini, who had occasion to live among the Mughals, suffered continuously from pangs of hunger and was amazed at their frugality.

Prawdin: *The Mongol Empire, Its Rise and Legacy*, p. 274.

¹² Female morality among the Mughals was very low. Kidnapping was common. Motherhood, however, was respected and the chief wife carried on the entire management of the household.

¹³ Howorth *History of the Mongols* Pt. IV, p. 44. Indian historians also speak of women and children accompanying the Mughal raiders into India, but they are nowhere mentioned to have taken part in the warfare.

Mughals—murder, robbery and adultery—became quite rare.¹⁴ In short this great conqueror and law-giver exploited the qualities of valour and perseverance of the quiescent Mughals¹⁵ and transformed them into the most distinguished warriors of the world.

Thuswise Chingiz Khan made a nation out of dust. He gave the Mughals a huge empire and large armies well disciplined and trained in the art of warfare. In fact he overhauled and organized all spheres of social as well as military life of the Mughals. He divided the inhabitants of a locality by the number of their tents; towns and cities among the early Mughals being unknown. A collection of ten tents was called *aculs*, that of ten *aculs* was called *ulus* or *otaks* and that of these ten *obog* or clan. This order in social life was also preserved for military organisation. From one single individual to a division of ten thousand horsemen all were kept under strict control and supervision. The smallest unit of the Mughal army consisting of ten horsemen (or *fard*) was called *urban*. Ten *urbans* made a *doh* or a division of one hundred. Ten *dohs* formed a *minjan* and ten *minjans* a *tuman*—a division of 10,000 horses, so often alluded to by Persian historians. On each of these units were appointed officers; a *tuman* in the early days of Mughal conquest was commanded by a prince of the royal blood.¹⁶ The Mughal military organization was

¹⁴ Prawdin: *The Mongol Empire*, p. 90.

¹⁵ Changiz Khan used to say: "Man's greatest pleasure is to defeat his enemies, to drive them before him, to take from them which they possess, to see those whom they cherished in tears, to ride their horses, to hold their wives and daughters in his arms." Juveni, Translation in Vladimirtsov. *The life Changiz Khan*, p. 160.

This betrays the true spirit of nomad war-lord and shows how gladly the nomad barbarians would have listened to such sermons and flocked to his standard.

¹⁶ Also see Petis de la Croix: *The History of Changiz Khan the Great*, pp. 81-2.

based essentially on cavalry, the greatest wealth of the Mughal being a horse; and horse stealing among them was considered to be the highest crime punishable by death. The equipment of a Mughal warrior consisted of a javelin; a hook, to pull the enemy from off his horse; bow and arrows; and a sword. The Mughal was a born fighter; the environment as well as tradition made up for his deficiency if there was any. From the very early days of Changiz, brothers and cousins and friends fought side by side, and a defeat even in a sham fight was considered to be a disgrace.¹⁷ The exercises were actual fighting except for the profusion of blood.

Mobility was a great quality of the Mughal army. As the Mughals had hardly anything that did not decay, their armies were not burdensome. Their equipment consisted of bare essentials and they carried no paraphernalia with them. They carried their felt tents—"all grimy and greasy, and ready at any moment to be taken down by the women of the tribe . . . Of forts, walls, or streets there could have been no sign."¹⁸ A modern authority on Mughal strategy aptly remarks that the Mughals had "grasped the essentials of strategy, while their tactical mechanism was so perfect that a high conception of tactics was unnecessary."¹⁹ Therefore, when Barani says that the Mughals, who came prepared for big battles sometimes vanished in one night, there is nothing surprising. The mobility of the Mughal army was proverbial. Both in their attack and their retreat they baffled their adversaries more by their movements than by their fighting power. It was dangerous to give them chase for as they fled they shot back over their heads and did much persecution upon their

Thus the *Mansabdari* system, developed by the Mughal rulers of India, had its seed in the military organization of Changiz Khan.

¹⁷ Michael Prawdin: *The Mongol Empire*, p. 44.

¹⁸ Introduction to the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* Pt. III p. 59.

¹⁹ Capt. Liddle Hart. *Ency. Brit.* Vol XV, pp. 705-70.

pursuers. "They understood the art of feigning retreat, of envelopment and of surprise, and, as battle after battle was fought against nations employing different methods of warfare, the sum of their experience had made them invincible."²⁰ Marco Polo describes in detail how in their fights the Mughals never got into a regular mêlée, but kept perpetually riding round and shooting at the enemy; and as they did not count it any shame to run away in battle, they would sometimes pretend to do so, killing in stray attacks and then wheeling round and returning to the charge in perfect order and routing their enemy.²¹

And the rapaciousness of the Mughals after a victory was unbounded. The complete destruction of the chief cities of Transoxiana clearly shows the inhuman callousness of these free-booters. "Their uniform plan was to convert cities into desert and to leave no human being that could rise in their rear. By the barbarities of their massacres, in which age, and sex, and conditions were alike disregarded they spread horror and dismay around them".²² On one occasion they put to death a man by dropping molten silver into his ears; and such horrible crimes were committed by them in the sack of Bokhara, Samargand and Balkh as can hardly be imagined. Juveni relates that in the sack of Tirmiz a captured woman begged for mercy promising the man who was to kill her a pearl of high value which she had swallowed. The cold blooded Mughal ripped open her body and as the pearl was really found in it an order was immediately given to open and examine all the bodies.²³

²⁰ Sykes: *History of Persia*, II, p. 85.

²¹ Howorth: *History of the Mongols* Pt. IV, pp. 84-85.

²² William Erskine: *History of Babur and Humayun* Vol. I p. 13.

²³ Such barbarous punishments to which the Muslim historians of Central Asia give exaggerated colour, were not uncommon in those days. The treatment accorded to the vanquished Mughals by 'Alāuddīn was in no way better than

Killing a person by breaking his back-bone was a common practice among them. Of the prisoners of war the Mughals derived the greatest utility. The healthy prisoners were used for hard work and as screens to the invading divisions, while the women were captured as prize of war. Such was the horror inspired by their invasions in European countries that till the other day in some of the churches in eastern Europe the litany included "From the fury of the Mughals good lord deliver us".²⁴

In the 13th and 14th centuries the Mongols had established their power from the Black Sea to the China Sea and from Siberia to Indus and Seistan. They used to fight either amongst themselves or to invade foreign lands in the hope of plunder and conquest. The number of these hordes, which, like swarms of "ants and locusts" issued forth for conquest were multiplied by the fears of the invaded and the rhetoric of poets and historians. From the days of Iluttmish to those of Jalaluddin, the rulers of Hindustan had to concentrate all their energies to encounter them. But in vain. It was only 'Alauddin who could successfully repulse some of the most terrific Mughal invasions to this country.

However, before discussing these invasions in detail it would be proper to throw a glance at the contemporary history of Central Asia to examine the causes underlying the so many assaults directed against India. Changiz Khan died in 1226. After his death the empire was divided among his sons. Oqtai became the Great Khan with China and Zungaria, a region that for exact boundaries later became a bone of contention. The descendants of Jüji, who had died in the life-time of Changiz, obtained the Khanate of Qipchâq and Tülî was

what the Mughals gave to their enemies. In spite of their inhuman punishments the Mughals were tolerant of other peoples' religions. Religious scruples did not prompt them to commit atrocious crimes.

²⁴ Sykes: *History of Persia* Vol. II p. 71.

put in charge of the home clans of Mongolistan. Chaghtai was to rule the kingdom of Transoxiana and Halāgū Khan, son of Tūli and grandson of Changiz, founded the line of Ilkhān rulers in Persia. Tūli's son Mangu Khan ousted Oqtai's son Kuyūk from the Khanate and himself became the Great Khan in 1244; and fratricidal war broke out between the houses of Oqtai and Tūli.²⁵ Mangu died in 1259 and was followed upon the throne by the famous Qublaī Khan, another son of Tūli. Qublaī's staunchest enemy was Qaidū, grandson of Oqtai, who never recognized the claims of Tūli's descendants on his ancestral dominions. Qaidū found a very faithful ally in Dava Khan, ruler of Transoxiana or Mavar-un-Nahr. Dava was a descendant of Chaghtai. Chaghtai had died in 1241 and was succeeded by his grandson Qara Halāgū who ruled until 1265. At his death the great Qublaī Khan appointed Mubarak Shah, son of Qara Halāgū to rule Transoxiana, but he was ousted by prince Borak, a great grandson of Chaghtai. He was followed upon the throne by Tuka Timūr, who in his turn was ousted by Dava, son of Borak. Dava in collaboration with Qaidū fought constant wars against Qublaī and his descendants on the east and the Ilkhāns on the west, both of whom had descended from Tūli. Now it is with these two houses, the Ilkhāns of Persia and the Chaghtais of Transoxiana, that we are most concerned; because whenever they found some respite from their fratricidal warfare in Asia they launched upon invasion of India. Thus we find that all the Mughal expeditions of India were sent either from Persia or from Mavarun-Nahr. Either of the two houses wanted to wrest land from each other's territories. And Dava Khan of Transoxiana, who was mostly unsuccessful against his adversaries, wanted to try his luck in India as well, and constantly sent out expeditions to this country. 'Alāuddīn's contem-

²⁵ Rashiduddin: *Jam'at Tavārikh*, Tehran Text pp. 132-33.

poraries among the Ilkhans of Persia were Ghazān Khan (1294-1304) and his brother sultan Banda Aljaitū (1304-16). In Transoxiana his contemporaries were Dava Khan (1272-1306) and his sons Kondjuk (Kuyūk), Kubak and Taliku.

Dava was a determined enemy of Hindustan. He was successful in snatching Ghazni from the Ilkhans and made it a base of operations against India. He reigned for thirty six years and all the time he lived, he sent armies to invade India. India had already been subjected to a number of Mughal invasions in 1241, 1245 and 1257. In 1285, Arghūn, the Ilkhan of Persia (1248-1291), had sent his armies to India and this invasion was long remembered in this country as Prince Muhammad, son of sultan Balban, was killed on the field of battle, while Amīr Khusrau was taken prisoner. In the time of sultan Jalāluddīn the Mughals again attacked India, and as described above, the sultan, unable to defeat them completely, bought a humiliating peace from them. But all these were minor invasions as compared with those that occurred in the time of 'Alāuddīn; and it was the good fortune of India that the most tremendous assaults were delivered to this country when a strong monarch like 'Alāuddīn was the ruler.

*Kadar's raid of the Punjab (1297-98)*²⁶

The first raid of the Mughals occurred only a short while after 'Alāuddīn's accession. Dava the ruler of Mavar-un-Nahr sent an army of 100,000 strong under the command of Kadar. The raiders poured into the country from the north-west, burnt

²⁶ Baranī gives the date as 696 A.H. Amīr Khusrau says that the two armies engaged on the 22nd of Rabi'ul Akhir 697 (9th February 1298). Ferishta also has 695. It can clearly be inferred from the account of Baranī that this raid occurred some time after the conquest of Multan. Baranī does not give the name of the commander of the expedition. 'Iṣāmī does not mention it at all.

Baranī p. 250.

Khazain, Habib Trs., p. 23., *Ferishta* p. 102.

down the villages of the Gakkhars, descended into the plains of the Punjab, and began to ravage the environs of Lahore. Their advance, as usual, struck terror into the hearts of the people and 'Alāuddīn despatched a large army under his generals Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan. A battle between the royalists and the Mughals was fought near Jullandhar,²⁷ in which the invaders were worsted. Some 20,000²⁸ of them died fighting and quite a large number of their officers were taken prisoner. They were put to death in the most cruel manner. Ulugh Khan sent the report of the victory to the sultan together with the heads of the Mughal soldiers, their women and children who had been captured and executed.

This victory in the very early days of his accession enhanced 'Alāuddīn's prestige and stabilized his position on the throne.

Saldi expelled from Sivistan (1299).

In the year 1299 while Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan were busy with the reduction of Gujarat the Mughals under the command of Saldi reappeared on the frontiers of Hindustan. This invasion has been described by Baranī, Iṣāmī and Ferishtah; but curiously enough Amir Khusrau does not mention it at all. According to Ziyā Baranī, Saldi and his brother²⁹ invaded the north west part of the country and took

²⁷ Amir Khusrau names the site of the battle as Jaran Manjūr; and describes the battle as having been fought near the bank of river Sutlaj, *Deval Rani* p. 60. Baranī definitely says that the battle was fought within the environs of Jullandhar, which lies between rivers Sutlaj and Beas. Ferishtah says it was fought near Lahore, which may also mean Jullandhar. *Deval Rani* p. 60; *Baranī* p. 250., *Ferishtah* p. 102.

²⁸ *Khazain*, Habib Trs. p. 24; *Ferishtah*, p. 102, has 12,000.

²⁹ Ferishtah says that Dava Khan ruler of Mavar-un-Nahr and his brother Chaldi (Saldi) took Sivistan. Baranī does not mention the name of the general but simply says "Saldi and his brother." But Dava was all along busy in Central Asian politics and would only have sent one or two generals on so

possession of ^{new Sindh} Sivistan.³⁰ Sultan 'Alāuddīn ordered Zafar Khan³¹ to march post haste to Sivistan, invest the fortress, and expel the invaders. The Mughals were soon subjected to a close investment, and although they hurled constant shower of arrows on the royalists they were soon overpowered by Zafar Khan, who did not even use *minjñiq* or other heavy engines of war.³² The valiant general with a large number of prisoners of both sexes returned to Delhi. Saldi and his brother were also among the captured.

The ease with which Zafar Khan had won this victory excited the admiration of the people, and the jealousy of the sultan. 'Alāuddīn was simply amazed at the hardihood, valour and resourcefulness of the brave general and began to look upon him with suspicion. His brother Ulugh Khan nursed similar feelings against Zafar Khan, because the latter's achieve-

minor a campaign as that of Sivistan. Moreover, Dava was not a man to submit without giving a very tough fight, but the struggle before Sivistan was only nominal. Baranī and Ferishtah later say that Saldi and his brother were captured and sent to Delhi chained and fettered. Their fate is not given by any historian but it can easily be surmised when it is borne in mind that these enemies of the state were never spared by 'Alāuddīn. But Dava was alive in Transoxiana till 1306. The presumption of Ferishtah that the other general with Saldi was his brother Dava is, therefore, incorrect. Moreover all other historians mention Saldi and his brother and do not mention the name of Dava. Had Dava, the ruler of Transoxiana been with Saldi the former's name should have been more prominent. *Ferishtah* p. 103; *Baranī* pp. 253-54. *Futūḥ* p. 241.

³⁰ From Sivistan is meant the north west portion of Sindh known as Sehvan.

³¹ Mir M'asūm incorrectly says that Nusrat Khan, who had been appointed governor of Sindh after the defeat of Arkali Khan, marched against the Mughals and gave them a crushing defeat. Nusrat Khan was then busy in Gujarat.

Tarikh-i-M'asūmi Text pp. 43-44.

³² *Baranī* p. 253.

ments had thrown into shade the former's success in Multan and Gujarat. At that time Zafar held the charge of Samanah, and mostly stayed there, for the Mughals were a source of constant danger. 'Alāuddīn now thought of either recalling him to court to remain in constant attendance upon him or to send him away to Bengal which he should subdue and govern.³³ The malicious sultan was even prepared to blind or poison Zafar Khan. But new developments in the political situation gained his object with less cruelty, and with a greater ease and naturalness.

Invasion of Qutlugh Khvājā (1299).

Towards the close of the year 1299 Qutlugh Khvājā, son of Dava,³⁴ left Transoxiana with twenty tumans (or 200,000 Mughals) for the invasion of Hindustan.³⁵ The humiliating defeat suffered by the Mughals in Sivistan prompted Qutlugh to come with full preparations; and this time they were bent upon the conquest of India. The invading hosts crossed the

³³ This statement shows two facts, (i) that 'Alāuddīn had no authority in Bengal and (ii) that in the sultanate period also Bengal was a punitive province as it was under the Mughals. Baranī p. 254.

³⁴ Baranī (p. 254) has قتلخ خواجہ پسر ذوالعین *lān* means accursed, but there was no king by the name of Zua or Zuda in Transoxiana in the time of 'Alāuddīn. The words, therefore, appear to be پسر ذوالعین to mean "Qutlugh Khvājā son of Dava the accursed." Dava was a direct descendant of Changīz Khan. Abul Fazl gives his genealogy like this:—Dava Khan, son of Baraq Khan, son of Bisutava, son of Mavat Khan, son of Chaghtai, son of Changīz.

Akbar Namah, Beveridge vol. I, p. 202.

³⁵ This invasion is not mentioned by Amīr Khusrau in *Khazain* but he makes a passing reference to it in *Deval Rani* (p. 61). The above number of Mughal invaders is given by Baranī but at another place he gives the strength of the force as one *lac*. (Baranī 254, 256).

river Sindh, and by forced marches arrived near Delhi, without disturbing the territories they passed on their way, in spite of the fact that they were actually harassed by the commanders of the frontier posts like Multan and Samanah. The imperialists would retire into their strongholds in the day but would emerge at night and hover at the flanks of the invaders. But the latter were unmoved by these tactics, because they wanted to conserve their energy for the final struggle.

At the rapid advance of the Mughals the inhabitants of the capital as also of the adjoining districts became very panicky, more so because Delhi itself was the objective of the enemy this time. Everybody from far and near flocked into the metropolis. Such a large crowd congregated within the city that men could not find room in the streets, the market places and the mosques.³⁶ To make the matters worse the approach of the caravans and merchants was interrupted by the Mughals who were hovering on the outskirts of the city. The inhabitants of Delhi were reduced to extreme distress as the prices of commodities had become excessively high.³⁷

The moment 'Alāuddīn was informed of the invasion he issued urgent instructions to the provincial governors to send reinforcements to the capital. Without waiting to ponder over the gigantic task that lay ahead of him, he began feverish preparation to encounter the invader. Malik 'Alāulmulk, the Kotwal of Delhi, who had full knowledge of the vast equipment of the Mughals and their objective, dissuaded the sultan from any hurried action. "Ancient monarchs", said he, "have invariably abstained from hazardous conflicts in which it is impossible to say as to which side victory is likely to incline. In case of conflicts between equally powerful chiefs, when the kingdom is staked on a single throw of the dice, monarchs have exercised their utmost discretion and have warded off the event

³⁶ *Baranī* p. 255.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 255.

as long as they could...Why does Your Majesty then purposely and wilfully, and without paying any heed or attention enter a perilous crisis? You may delay in engaging these Mughals....Our army is composed principally of the soldiery of Hindustan, who have spent their lives in warfare with the Hindus only, and have never yet joined in battle with the Mughals, and are consequently ignorant of their cunning system of tactics, their sallies, their ambuscades and other stratagems”³⁸. Malik ‘Alāulmulk continued his harangue in which he tried to impress upon the mind of the king the benefits of delaying an engagement until the enemy fell short of provisions and then pursuing him when he went about searching for food and fodder. The peroration of the Kotval betrays the seriousness of the situation. Not only had the Mughals come determined to capture Delhi, they had even brought with them fodder and provisions to last for some time, lest they should waste their strength in securing them. Hence, they did not plunder even in the environs of Delhi. Without detaching even a dozen warriors from their main army they stood with their united strength before the capital of Hindustan ready for an encounter:

‘Alāúddin had always given heed to the mature advice of the experienced Kotvāl but could not agree with him on the present occasion. He called together all the high officers of the army and in their presence addressed ‘Alāulmulk. It was meaningless, said he, to assume a menacing attitude towards the Mughals and yet avoid an engagement with them. How could he hold the sovereignty of Delhi if he shuddered to encounter the invaders? What would his contemporaries and those adversaries who had marched two thousand *kos* to fight him say, when he hid himself “behind a camel’s

³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 255-57.

back".³⁹ And what verdict posterity would pronounce on him? How could he dare show his countenance to anybody, or even enter the royal *haram* if he was guilty of cowardice and endeavoured to repel the *Mughals* with diplomacy and negotiations? In the end the Sultan exclaimed: "Come what may, I am bent upon marching tomorrow into the plain of *Kili*, where I propose joining in battle with *Qutlugh Khvāja*. . . . Oh 'Alā'ulmulk, to thee have I confided the post of *Kotvāl* and the charge of my seraglio, and treasures, together with the whole town. Whichever of us two, whether he or I, prove the conqueror, salute the victor with the keys of the gates, and of the treasures, and lay them before him, and become his obedient servant and vassal."⁴⁰

After thus giving vent to his feelings, which indicate the true spirit of a statesman-cum-warrior, 'Alā'uddīn marched with the royal forces and encamped at *Kili*⁴¹ where *Qutlugh Khvāja* had arrayed his men on the opposite.

Battle with the Mughals.

The army was stationed in a very secure position at *Kili*. On the one side was the *Jumna* and on the other side were thorns and bushes and in between these two stood the royal forces.⁴² 'Alā'uddīn drew up his army in the traditional style. *Malik Hizabruddīn Zafar Khan*, the governor of *Samanah*, the *Punjab* and *Multan* was entrusted with the command of the right wing, and with him were attached some *Rajas* of *Hindustan*—a group of veteran warriors. *Ulugh Khan* was

³⁹ This phrase has been used by *Baranī* at many places during the course of this conversation. Hiding behind a camel's back or rather hump *کوهان شتری* simply means avoiding a battle.

⁴⁰ *Baranī* p. 258.

⁴¹ *Kili* lay north of *Delhi*, not very far from it.
Keene: *History of Hindustan*, vol. I, p. 76.

Thmas: *Chronicles* p. 261.

⁴² *Futūh* p. 249.

put in command of the left wing, with orders to reinforce any other wing which showed signs of weakness in the course of the battle. The king with Nusrat Khan and 12,000 men commanded the centre.⁴³ Twenty-two elephants were stationed in front of each division as bulwark against a terrific assault by the enemy. Having thus dispositioned his troops the Sultan personally reviewed the whole army, and ordered that nobody should move from his place without his orders.⁴⁴

The Mughals also arranged their men in the same manner. Qutlugh Khvājā was in the centre, whereas Hajlak and Tamar Bugha commanded the left and the right wings respectively. Targhī, another Mughal general, commanded a major division. Isakilba, Kijya, Utnā also held ranks in the Mughal army.⁴⁵

Zafar Khan was so restless to fight the enemy that, even before the Mughal army could arrive near Delhi, he had sent a personal challenge to Qutlugh Khvājā to meet him in a duel.⁴⁶ Having ordered his rank and file to be ready for an assault on the Mughal left, he delivered it. Hajlak and his men were gripped in a hand to hand fight with Zafar Khan. Simultaneously Dilēr Khan, son of Zafar Khan, made a furious charge on the Mughals and created a consternation among them. Tamar Bugha could not withstand this attack and fell back. The Mughal army, broken and routed, was hotly pur-

⁴³ *Futūh* p. 250.

Ferishtah p. 104.

⁴⁴ According to *Ferishtah* (p. 103) the royal army consisted of 3,00,000 horses and 2,700 elephants, but the figure seems inflated as the sultan would not have been so much worried about this invasion had he possessed such a large force in readiness.

⁴⁵ *Futūh* pp. 246-60. 'Iṣāmī gives the most detailed account of the invasion.

⁴⁶ *Futūh* pp. 247-49.

sued by the royalists while Tamar Bughā's men continued to shower arrows behind their back on their pursuers—a practice in which the Mughals were past masters. An assault by the enemy on the centre of the royal army was met by the Sultan, who repulsed it and killed a large number of them.⁴⁷ In this conflict the king rescued a large number of Indian soldiers whom the Mughals had captured as prisoners of war. 'Alāuddīn, however, did not pursue the retreating enemy.

Death of Zafar Khan.

On the right, however, Zafar Khan was hard pressed by the Mughal veteran Hajlak. He had not received any reinforcement from the king nor had he received any orders of withdrawal; and the enemy all the while was gaining ground. Ulugh Khan, who kept an ill-will against Zafar Khan on account of the latter's popularity, did not move to help him in distress.⁴⁸ At last Zafar Khan, left to himself, ordered his men to make a desperate charge upon the enemy. Hajlak could not withstand it and hurriedly retreated. Zafar Khan killed a large number of Mughals while pursuing the flying enemy for eighteen kos.⁴⁹ But the pursuit of the vanquished army was imprudent, or at least unfortunate. During their retreat about 10,000 Mughals had fallen in ambush under the leadership of Targhī. They now determined to cut down the royal troops on their way back from the pursuit. As soon, therefore, as they saw Zafar Khan returning, they left the ambush and stood arrayed for battle. The valiant Zafar found himself at bay, his wits all at an end. He had about a thousand horsemen with him, while the Mughals were ten times more. He held an emergent consultation with some of

⁴⁷ The sultan offered his soldiers one gold *tankah* for each Mughal head. *Deval Rani* p. 61.

⁴⁸ *Zafarul Vāli* p. 797.

⁴⁹ This distance is not given in the Bib. Ind. Text of Baranī, but Major Fuller's Ms. has it.

his officers like 'Usmān, the Akhurbēg, and 'Alī Shah, the Rānā-i-Pīl. All of them unanimously decided to give a last desperate battle thinking that even if they escaped alive from the clutches of the Mughals by not giving them a battle, they would surely be punished by the sultan for their cowardice.

The result of the impending battle was foregone conclusion. The Mughals encircled the royal forces and delivered fatal blows on them. Nonetheless, Zafar Khan was successful in breaking the encirclement. He fought here, there, and everywhere, but still no help was forthcoming either from the Sultan or Ulugh Khan. The battle raged fiercely, and if 'Iṣmī is to be believed, when 5,000 of the Mughals had been killed Zafar had lost 800 men only. With the remaining 200 horsemen Zafar Khan fought on till the last, and even when his horse had been cut down he fought on foot. The contemporary chronicler gives a graphic description of Zafar's bravery. "His horse died under him", says he, "and that renowned and unmatched warrior began the struggle on foot. Having strewn his shafts on the ground before him he charged with great violence, and every shaft brought one Mughal cavalier down."⁵⁰ The gallantry of such an incomparable general, though not valued by his own jealous sovereign, received a just appreciation from Qutlugh Khvājā who sent him a message saying, "Come over to me, so that I may take you to my father who will treat you with higher honour than the emperor of Delhi has done." But Zafar Khan spurned such an offer and fought as valiantly as ever. Finding it impossible to capture Zafar Khan alive the Mughals pressed upon him from all sides and killed him in a close combat. The gallant soldier had fallen victim to an unequal fight excited by his own unbounded zeal. None of the royalists returned alive from that pursuit that day.

⁵⁰ Baranī pp. 160-61.

Retreat of the Mughals.

The Mughals had killed Zafar Khan but they had seen the mettle of the army of Hindustan. Under the cover of the night they departed to a distance of thirty *kos* from Delhi.⁵¹ From thence they returned to their country by continuous marches without stopping on the way.⁵² The contemporary chronicler mentions with pride that the dread of the attack of Zafar Khan remained in the breasts of the Mughals for years and when their cattle would not drink water they would ask, "What! Have you seen Zafar Khan that you do not drink water?"⁵³

After this victory the Sultan returned from Kili. By the irony of circumstance, nobody praised the hero of the battle, Zafar Khan, for his sacrifice and gallantry. On the contrary the Sultan blamed him for fighting recklessly and pursuing the enemy without his orders.⁵⁴ In his heart of hearts 'Alāuddīn was happy at the death of Hizabruddīn and considered his death another welcome event, only next in consequence to the defeat of the Mughals.

The Mughal deluge having receded, the Sultan embarked upon the conquest of Rajputna. He sent an army to Ranthambhor in 1300 A.D. and himself went to the scene of action after some time. The Mughals kept quiet for some time,

⁵¹ 'Iṣāmī, however, says that they hovered about Delhi for a few more days without daring to give a battle and then retired.

Futūḥ pp. 258-260.

⁵² Amīr Khusrāu writes that Qutlugh Khwājā died on his way back to Transoxiana (*Deval Rani* p. 61). It is quite correct, because after Dava's death in 1306, Kuyūk, Kubak and Taliku, ascended the throne of Transoxiana one after another while this warrior son is not mentioned to be living to claim the throne.

⁵³ Baranī p. 261.

⁵⁴ *Futūḥ* p. 258.

firstly because they had seen the strength of the Indian soldiers and secondly because they were busy with their internal affairs in Central Asia.⁵⁵ All this time 'Alāuddīn was planning further conquests. Towards the close of the year 1302 A.D. he despatched an army towards the Deccan via Bengal and himself proceeded to the conquest of Chittor in February 1303. While 'Alāuddīn was at Chittor the Mughals regained strength enough to invade Hindustan again.

The invasion of Targhī (1303).

Hardly a month had elapsed since Sultan 'Alāuddīn's return from Chittor, when the Mughal general Targhī invaded India with 120,000 horsemen.⁵⁶ The situation at the capital was very critical indeed. In the siege of Chittor the royal army had suffered terribly, and what little stores and equipment had been saved in the warfare were lost on the return

⁵⁵ At this time Qaidu and Dava were busy fighting Qub-lai Khan and his successors. After Outlugh's expedition into Hindustan Dava and Qaidu marched to fight the Mughal Khaqān but they were defeated. Qaidu did not outlive his defeat for long and died in 1302. The great Khans contemporary of 'Alāuddīn were Aljāitu (1294-1307), Kubak (1307-11) and Buyantu (1311-1320). See Lanepoole: *Muhammadan Dynasties* p. 215.

⁵⁶ Baranī says (p. 300) دوازده تن سوار, i.e. 12 *tumans* or 120,000 horse, but shortly after writes طرخی ملعون باسی چهل هزار سوار گیرا گیر در آمد which means, "Targhī the accursed advanced with 30 to 40 thousand horses". The former figure seems more correct because (i) On this occasion also the conquest of Hindustan was the aim of the Mughals. For such a great undertaking a large force was needed. On a previous occasion like this 2,00,000 horsemen had come. (2) 30 to 40 thousand horses would not have caused so much anxiety to 'Alāuddīn. The consternation at the capital shows that the calamity was as great as ever. Ferishtah also has 1,20,000 horsemen. *Futūḥ* (p. 276) has 2,00,000.

march to Delhi,—a march conducted through the dreary desert of Rajputana and at the height of the rainy season. So that when the Mughals were approaching Delhi 'Alāuddīn's forces were not fit to be mustered, they had not renewed their kits even. The army which had been sent to the east had not yet returned. Still 'Alāuddīn did not lose heart. He sent orders to provincial governors in the east and the west to send reinforcements to the capital and prepared to fight the Mughal invader.

Targhi had determined to see that the disaster sustained by Qutlugh Khvājā's forces was not repeated. He, therefore, had gathered definite information that the Sultan had marched to a distant fortress while another force, under veteran generals, had gone on a distant expedition. By forced marches and without disturbing the territory on his way Targhi arrived on the confines of Delhi. Sultan 'Alāuddīn gathered together whatever troops he had in the capital, and arrayed his forces in the plain of Sirī. As it was impossible to fight the Mughals in an open engagement with so small an army, 'Alāuddīn decided to exhaust the patience of the besiegers by strengthening his defence lines. On the east of Sirī lay the river Jumna and on the south-west was the old citadel of Delhi, although by the time of Targhi's invasion it had not been repaired. In the south lay the dense jungle of Old Delhi. The only vulnerable side, therefore, was the north, where the Mughals had pitched their camp. Sultan 'Alāuddīn ordered large trenches to be dug up round the encampment and strengthened them by constructing walls of wooden planks around them. In those times when artillery and other modern siege implements had not come in vogue, palisades, trenches and ramparts served best for purposes of defence. In each trench were stationed five huge elephants "incased in armour", one division of cavalrymen and a guard party to keep a constant watch. Those prompt measures of the Sultan prevented the Mughals from forcing an

entrance into the royal camp.⁵⁷ While the Mughals used to move about the trenches in search for passage or recess through which they could suddenly fall on the royalists, the Sultan kept his troops ever alert and vigilant and constantly under arms for a combat, although he was determined to avoid an engagement till succour arrived from other quarters. In vain, however, did he hope to receive reinforcements from Multan, Samanah and Deopalpur, for the Mughals had completely blockaded all passages of the capital from the east and the west. The army under Maliks Jūna and Jhūjhu had returned from Bengal completely shattered and ruined. The passage of even this dilapidated force had been stopped by the Mughals, while the organized armies of some feoffees of the east had failed to join the king at Sirī and had been compelled to stop at Kol and Baran.

Meanwhile the Mughals had begun to raid the environs of Delhi. They had so completely encircled the metropolis that supplies of water, forage, firewood and all other necessities of life had been stopped from coming into it and an acute scarcity of grain was felt. The Mughals on the other hand used to march in groups to places like the Chabūtras of Sub-hānī, Mori and Hudhī and even up to the Hauz-i-'Alāī and lay hands upon grain and other stores of the market. Sometimes they even raided the city of Delhi itself and looted the royal granaries.

Minor skirmishes were desultorily fought on two or three occasions, but neither party could gain any decisive advantage. The patience of Targhī, who had come prepared only for a victory, had been well-nigh exhausted, and finding the lines of 'Alāuddīn's entrenchment impenetrable he retired after a stay of about a couple of months.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ The position of 'Alāuddīn's entrenchment at Sirī has been discussed in detail in *J.A.S.B.* 1866 pp. 199-218.

⁵⁸ Baranī p. 302.

Futūḥ p. 277 has forty days only.

The flight of the Mughals seemed miraculous indeed. Baranī describes the situation in the following words:—"This occasion, on which the army of Islam had received no injury from the Mughal force, and the city of Delhi had escaped unharmed, appeared one of the miracles of the age to all intelligent persons; for the Mughals had arrived in great force early in the season, and had blockaded the roads against the entry of reinforcements or supplies; and the royal army was suffering under the want of proper equipment, while they were in the most flourishing and hearty condition".⁵⁹

It is not difficult to surmise the cause of so quick a retreat of the Mughals. Although Baranī attributes it to the supplications of the poor and the prayers of Shaikh Nizām-uddīn Auliā, the venerable saint of the time, yet the real reason of the Mughal retreat lies in something else. It lies, firstly, in the prompt action of the Sultan who would not yield to the enemy on any ground whatsoever, and who undertook such defensive measures as even to baffle the Mughal veteran. Secondly, it lies in the fact that the Mughals on account of their preoccupation in Central Asia, referred to above, could never permit themselves to stay in Hindustan for long. Consequently, if they could not overcome the armies of Hindustan within a short time they would surely and suddenly return to their home land in Central Asia.

Steps taken to prevent further Mughal Inroads.

Targhi had returned, but the Mughal menace was not over for all time. Their successive invasions impressed upon the mind of the Sultan the gravity of the Mughal danger. For some time, therefore, he refrained from any further conquests and concentrated on the problem of defence. The palace of Sirī having been almost completed, he transferred his headquarters there. Subsequently Sirī came to be known as

⁵⁹ Baranī p. 302.

the capital. Old citadels were repaired and new ones constructed on the regions through which the Mughals generally passed into India. A strong wall was also built around the city to check the invaders from entering the town. The army, too, was reorganised and new enlistments were made.⁶⁰ Experienced officers and well-equipped soldiers were garrisoned in each of the forts on the north-west frontier. They were to resist the invaders on their march towards the capital city.

The defensive measures effected by 'Alāuddīn by no means stopped the Mughals from pouring into India occasionally, but now the Sultan was ever prepared to receive them. In future whenever the Mughals invaded India they were successfully defeated, their women and children were taken prisoner and they themselves were trampled under the feet of the elephants or struck by the sword.

Invasion of 'Alī Bēg, Tartāq and Targhī (1305).

The Mughals had suffered defeats at the hands of the army of Delhi on many occasions; the insult rankled deep in their hearts. Targhī could never forget the humiliating retreat of Qutluḡh Khvājā. He had got an opportunity to avenge the insult in 1303 but even then he had achieved but little.⁶¹ But all these defeats did not dishearten Targhī; on the contrary they whetted his thirst for revenge. When, therefore, 'Alī Bēg and Tartāq⁶² advanced towards Hindustan Targhī accompanied them. This invasion was in no way less

⁶⁰ For details see chapter XVI.

⁶¹ 'Iṣāmī mentions another invasion of Targhī between 1303-1305.

No other historian corroborates him and his version seems to be wrong. *Futūḥ* pp. 283-84.

⁶² Ziyā Baranī and 'Iṣāmī call him Tartak, Amīr Khusrāu Tartāq and Badaonī Taryāq. Ferishta has Khvājā Tarpāl which Briggs changes into Khvājā Tāsh.

formidable in nature than those of 1299 and 1303. The Mughals, about 50,000 in number⁶³, crossed the hilly region lying north-west of the Indus, crossed the Indus itself and by forced marches advanced towards the east. According to Amir Khusrau, Targhi, "who had once or twice fled away from the attacks of the victors...was at last shot by an arrow"⁶⁴ and killed in a fray even before the invading army penetrated into the Doab. That probably is the reason why Baranī does not even mention the name of this prominent general among those who led the expedition. 'Alī Bēg and Tartāq moved on, inflicting barbarous cruelties wherever they passed. Having learnt that the capital was strongly defended, and knowing as they did that the Mughal army had failed in capturing it on many earlier occasions, they decided to by-pass it and march straight on the Doab and Avadh, the most fertile and prosperous tract in the country. "The confounded inhabitants. . .rushed to the fords of the Ganga", says Amir Khusrau, "and smoke rose from the towns of Hindustan. People fled from their burning houses. . .and threw themselves into rivers and torrents".⁶⁵

When the report of the enormities of the invaders and the desperation of the people reached the Sultan, he appointed Malik Naik⁶⁶, Master of the Horse (Akhūrbēg-i-Maisrah)

⁶³ This is the figure of Amir Khusrau (Khazain, Habīb Trs. p. 26) Baranī has 30 to 40 thousand. According to Baranī 'Alī Beg was a descendant of Changiz Khan.

⁶⁴ Khazāin Habīb Trs. p. 26.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p. 26.

⁶⁶ Khusrau says that Malik Naik was a Hindu. Baranī also names the commander as Malik Naik. 'Isāmī incorrectly reads Malik Nanak. 'Alāuddīn had a *paik* Manik by name who had saved him at the time of Ikat Khan's assault (Baranī p. 273). But the general who fought the Mughals was surely Malik Naik as mentioned by two contemporary authorities

with a strong force of thirty to forty thousand to deal with the invaders. The royal army met the Mughals in the vicinity of Amroha and inflicted upon them a crushing defeat on Thursday 12th Jamādus Sānī 705 (December 30, 1305).⁶⁷ A large portion of the Mughal army was "put to sword, scattered and dispersed". Twenty thousand horses belonging to the Mughals were seized by the victors and the Mughal corpses lay right and left.⁶⁸ The two Mughal generals were captured alive and sent to Delhi in chains and fetters. Exultant with joy 'Alā-uddīn ordered a *durbār* to be held on the Chautrā-i-Sub-hānī, where he sat in all his kingly glory to receive the prisoners of war and decide their fate; his victorious army standing in double rows from the royal seat to Indrapat. Large was the crowd which had assembled to witness the scene. The price of a flask of water rose to twenty *jīṭals* and half a *tankah*. The Mughal prisoners of war were led through this mass of humanity and were presented before the royal throne. By the order of the Sultan they were paraded in the city on camels, after which they were beheaded; and their heads were used in the construction of towers outside the fort. According to Ferishtah 8,000 heads of Mughal prisoners were used instead of stones and bricks to build the towers of Sirī, which were then under construction; and his statement is confirmed by Amīr Khusrau who writes: "They (the Mughals) give blood to new buidlings."

Baranī and Khusrau. Ferishtah says that Malik Naib and Malik Tughlaq were sent.

Deval Rani p. 61.

Futūḥ p. 297.

Baranī p. 320.

Ferishtah p. 114.

⁶⁷ This is the date of Khusrau a contemporary; Ferishtah has 704 A.H.

⁶⁸ Baranī p. 320.

As to the fate of 'Alī Bēg and 'Tartāq, accounts vary. According to Baranī all Mughal prisoners, together with their chiefs, were crushed under the feet of the elephants.⁶⁹ Amīr Khusrau, however, says that 'Alī Bēg and Tartāq were granted amnesty. He further adds, "In course of time one of them died, without any harm having been done to him, and the other remained alone. The emperor was so successful in sport that he took their lives in one game after another."⁷⁰ The last sentence of this passage is not very clear, but 'Iṣāmī makes a statement which corroborates it as well as throws fresh light on it. He says that 'Alāúddīn pardoned 'Alī Bēg and Tartāq, gave them robes of honour and provided for them all necessities and amenities of life. After a short time, however, Tartāq, while under a fit of drunkenness, was heard to enquire about his crown, armour and army. When the Sultan came to know of it, he ordered his head to be chopped off immediately. 'Alī Bēg also met the same fate after one or two years.⁷¹

Invasion of Kubak and Iqbālmānd (1306).

In the following year the Mughals again reappeared on the frontiers of India, when Dava Khan sent Kubak⁷² to

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 321.

⁷⁰ Khazain Habīb Trs. p. 28.

⁷¹ *Futūḥ* p. 298. Vassāf, a foreign contemporary who wrongly puts the invasion in 708 H. (1308 A.D.), also states that 'Alī Bēg accepted Islam and that he was given the rank of a nobleman by 'Alāúddīn.

Vaṣṣāf text pp. 526-27.

⁷² Kubak was also a son of Dava Khan, but as the Kubak who invaded India was captured alive and then killed by the orders of the sultan, he seems to be different from Dava Khan's son, who ascended the throne of Transoxiana in 1307-8. The name has variously been written by Indian historians. Baranī writes him Kunk or Gung, Amīr Khusrau Kapak or Kabak, 'Iṣāmī Kubak and Ferishtah Gung.

avenge the deaths of 'Alī Bēg and Tartāq.⁷³ He crossed Indus with a large army and marched on to Ravi burning, murdering and pillaging. Another contingent of the Mughal force, which was commanded by Iqbālmand moved southwards and arrived near Nagor⁷⁴ creating havoc in that part of the country. 'Alāuddīn appointed Malik Naib Kāfūr to oppose the invaders and crush them out in a battle. To encourage his soldiers 'Alāuddīn ordered that every one of them shall receive one year's salary as bonus. Experienced generals like Malik Tughlaq, the Shahnāh-i-Bārgāh and the fief-holder of Deopulpur, and Malik 'Alam were also sent with Malik Naib Kāfūr. On the eve of their departure the Sultan praised and flattered Malik Naib very much to encourage him to give a gallant fight.⁷⁵ The royal army made for the threatened region making "no distinction between the darkness of the night and the light of the dawn till they had reached their prey". Malik Tughlaq, who led the vanguard, one day suddenly sighted Mughal scouts, and he immediately informed Malik Kāfūr about the location of the Mughal army. Shortly after the rival forces stood face to face on the banks of the river Ravi,⁷⁶ but

⁷³ *Deval Ranī* p. 62.

Khazain p. 29.

Ferishtah pp. 115-16.

⁷⁴ Nagor is 75 miles north-east of Jodhpur, Rajputana.

⁷⁵ *Futūh* p. 311.

⁷⁶ In *Khazain* Khusrāu says that the battle was fought near the river of 'Alī (Ab-i-'Alī), but in *Deval Ranī* he makes it clear and says that the Mughals crossed from Multan and began to ravage the region of Ravi. Baranī calls the place of combat as "Khekar" while Ferishtah has Nilāb. 'Isāmī has Hind-i-'Alī.

Khazain p. 30,

Deval Ranī pp. 61-63,

Futūh p. 311,

Ferishtah p. 116.

neither party was willing to open the attack. At last the Mughals advanced blowing conch shells and making immense noise. Kubak delivered the assault on the centre of the royal army, commanded by Malik Naib Kāfūr, and scattered it. But soon Malik Kāfūr rallied his men and fought so gallantly that in a very short time Kubak's men were completely routed and made to fly. Kubak was taken prisoner just at a moment when he was on the point of being killed by some Delhi soldiers. The prisoners of war, who included women and children, were sent to the Sultan at Delhi.

Malik Tughlaq and Malik Naib now marched to encounter that Mughal force which had successfully advanced as far as Nagor. Intelligence was brought to them that the Mughal army was commanded by two generals Iqbālmānd, and Tai-Bū. The royal generals marched on and suddenly fell upon the enemy. The Mughal commanders, probably having heard of the defeat of Kubak and also having their right wing attacked by the Indian army fell back and fled northwards "by the same passage across the Sind (Indus)". The work of the imperialists was now rendered easy. They pursued, overtook and completely routed the Mughal force. The victorious army returned to the capital accompanied by a large number of prisoners of war. Ferishtah says that this was a strange event, for out of fifty or sixty thousand Mughals not more than three or four thousand were left alive. Sultan 'Alāuddīn, enraged at the persistent audacity of the Mughal invaders who poured into the country year after year, ordered them to be thrown under the feet of elephants and a tower to be constructed of their skulls in front of the Badaon Gate. Their women and children were sold in Delhi and the rest of Hindustan.

This invasion has been differently described by various writers, contemporary and later. Amīr Khusrau's account in *Khazainul Futūh*, being a mixture of verbosity and

rhetoric, is a little confused. But it can be made out that Kubak, Iqbālmand and Tai Bū were commanders of the different contingents in one and the same campaign.⁷⁷ This fact, again, is definitely mentioned in *Deval Rānī*.⁷⁸ 'Iṣāmī who gives the most detailed description of Mughal invasions, treats it as the last in the time of 'Alāuddīn. 'Iṣāmī, however, does not refer to any other commander except Kubak.⁷⁹

According to Ziyāuddīn Baranī, however, Kank, another general whose name he does not mention, and Iqbālmand invaded Hindustan on three occasions and in different, if not successive, years. His description of the three Mughal invasions is as follows:- In the first invasion under Kank or Gung the Mughals were defeated by the army of Islam at Khekar. Gung and many other Mughals, including women and children, were taken prisoner. Gung was trampled under the feet of an elephant and a tower of heads of the Mughals was raised before the Badaon Gate. On another occasion and in another year some commanders of the Indian army fought the Mughals in the Sivalik hills. They cut the retreat of the Mughals and occupied the territory through which the enemy was to pass. It so happened that the Mughals, who were returning after over-running the Sivaliks, arrived at the river bank (the name of the river is not given) with their "horses and themselves both parched with thirst and disordered. The army of Islam thus gained the most advantageous opportunity, and the Mughals with their fingers in their mouths, begged for water."⁸⁰ They were

⁷⁷ *Khazain* pp. 29-31.

⁷⁸ *Deval Rānī* pp. 62-63.

⁷⁹ *Futūḥ*. pp. 310-314.

⁸⁰ The details show that Baranī is clearly referring to the retreat of the Mughals from Nagor who must have passed through regions scarce of water.

attacked. A glorious victory fell to the lot of the imperialists and the Mughals were killed mercilessly. In another year Iqbālmand headed another Mughal expedition to Amīr 'Alī⁸¹ but he was completely defeated after a light skirmish with the imperial army. Iqbālmand was slain and some thousand Mughals fell a prey to the sword.⁸²

The above narrative is evidently loose and faulty. It was written long after the actual event and, therefore, there is every probability of discrepancies creeping into it. The author does not give the names of the Indian commanders who fought the Mughals on these three occasions. He does not mention the name of the Mughal commander, who according to him, was in command of the second of these invasions, nor even does he give the dates of the expeditions. These inaccuracies were adopted by Nizāmuddīn and Ferishtah. Ferishtah follows his predecessor in broad details; but he gives only two invasions. According to him one of them was encountered on the banks of the Indus; but the place of the other has not been indicated by him. He simply says, "A long while after this (i.e. the invasion of Kubak) a Mughal, named Iqbālmand, came to Hindustan with a huge army and wrought much damage. But Ghazi Malik Tughlaq marched against Iqbālmand and after slaying him sent many Mughals to Delhi to be trodden down by enormous elephants."⁸³

The narrative of Khusrāu, who treats the invasion under Kubak, Iqbālmand and Tai Bū as one and the same is most trustworthy. He wrote in the life-time of 'Alāuddīn; whereas Baranī wrote very much long after. Moreover he confirms his statements of *Khazainul Fatūh* in *Deval Ranī*, which shows that he was certain of what he was writing in this

⁸¹ It may be Ab-i-'Alī of Khusrāu.

⁸² Baranī pp. 321-22.

⁸³ Ferishtah p. 116.

connection. His statements are corroborated by 'Iṣāmī also who does not mention any other invasion of the Mughals after that of Kubak in the time of 'Alāuddīn. Many other facts also reveal that Kubak's was in all probability the last invasion. Dava Khan, the arch enemy of Hindustan, who after his accession to the throne of Transoxiana in 1272, had repeatedly sent expeditions to India, died in the last months of the year 1306. After his death the internal affairs of Transoxiana fell into confusion, and within three years three Khans successively sat upon the throne. Conditions became so unsettled there that Ghāzī Malik, warden of the marches at Deopapur, every year led expeditions to Kabul and Ghazni and plundered and ravaged those places. In these circumstances it is incredible that after the death of Dava Khan the Mughals would or could have poured into India again.

Thus with Kubak's expedition the last spark of Mughal aggression died out. The Mughal menace which had made his predecessors tremble on their thrones was put to an end by the mighty resolve of 'Alāuddīn. His reformatory measures, his huge army and above all his consummate generalship relieved the empire of a calamity that was continually haunting the rulers and people of Hindustan. Not only did the Mughals cease their aggression on Hindustan, Ghāzī Tughlaq, who like Sher Khan of former days was appointed at Deopapur with a strong force under him, every year led expeditions to "Kabul, Ghazni, Qandhar and Garmsir, plundered and ravaged those regions and levied tribute from their inhabitants. The Mughals had not the courage to come and defend their own frontiers against him."⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Baranī pp. 322-23. Ziyāuddīn's remark is very significant. He says:

هر سال در ایام زمستان (Ghāzī Malik) با لشکر خاص خود
از دیپالپور بیرون آمدی و تا سرحد های مغل رفتی - مغل را

Baranī and Ferishtah speak of plundering raids of Malik Tughlaq only. But a letter in the *Aijāz-i-Khusravī* of Amir Khusrau, and translated and published by Sir H. Elliot shows that the Mughals had successfully been defeated by Tughlaq Malik and that *Khutba* in the name of Sultan 'Alāuddīn was read in a mosque of Ghazni. The letter which has no date is a part of the 'Arz-dāsh't of one Hājib Badr to the address of Khizr Khan, son of 'Alāuddīn. It would not be out of place to give the full letter as translated by Elliot from Book IV of the Persian text of *Aijāz-i-Khusravī*.⁸⁵

"The servant Badr begs to state, for the information of his highness prince Khizr Khan.....that according to royal orders he marched with an army, reached Indus, crossed the river on boats and proceeding onward arrived at Ghazni in winter. The season was exceedingly cold. The Mughals of that place were in great alarm from fear of the Musalman army. But when the purport of the royal *firmān* was read to them, they became comforted, expressed their obedience and were happy. As the king had ordered that the *Khutba* of his name should be read in Ghazni all the Muhammadans who had concealed themselves in the mountains and ravines, as well as the elders and the principal Musalmans of Ghazni, who were looking with the eye of expectation towards Delhi, assembled in the Jama Masjid of the city, and on Friday the

چراغ بر کرده طلب کردی و مغل را مجال نمادہ بود کہ بر
سرحد ہائے خود بر طریق گشت بیانید -

It is obvious that there was no peace on the north-west frontier during 'Alāuddīn's rule. Ibn Battūtah mentions an Arabic inscription of Ghāzī Tughlaq on the Jama' Masjid of Multan, which ran: "I have encountered the Tatars on twenty-nine occasions and defeated them and hence I am known as Malikul Ghāzī."

Ibn Battūtah, vol. III, p. 202.

⁸⁵ Elliot, vol III pp. 566-67.

Khutaba was read in the name of Sultan 'Alāuddīn. The noise of acclamations of joy and congratulations rose high from all quarters. The vest of honour, which was sent by the king, for the reader of the *Khutba*, was put on his shoulders. One of the walls of the mosque, which was decayed and fallen down, was newly raised.

On the same Friday jewels and gold were showered by Badr which he had brought from Delhi and Musalmans picked them. The Mughals saw this from the top of the walls of the Masjid, and spoke something in their own tongue. In these days some of the infidels have embraced the Muhammadan Faith."

This letter, in spite of the fact that it is of no great historic authenticity, corroborates the idea that 'Alāuddīn's arms had penetrated into Ghazni and the Sultan's *Khutba* was read there.

Causes of the defeat of the Mughals.

Before closing this chapter it would be interesting to study why the Mughals, who once terrorised both the east and the west, and who even in the time of 'Alāuddīn waged mighty wars in Central Asia, were always successfully defeated by the armies of Hindustan. The defeats and retreats of the Mughals in India were due to many reasons. Firstly, the idea of world conquest, which had been the driving force of the Mughal empire, was given up on account of the wars among the various descendants of Changīz Khan. The Mughals who invaded India were sent by the Khans of Transoxiana. They had rebelled against the Great Khans of China and were mostly busy with their internal troubles in Central Asia. Dava Khan, the arch-enemy of Hindustan fought some forty battles in Central Asia itself, and consequently could not give all his attention and energy to the conquest of Hindustan. As Professor Habib rightly point out, the discord among the

Mughals and their own internecine warfare saved the kingdom of Delhi which could not have withstood a united attack of the Mughals.⁸⁶

Secondly, the numbers that invaded India seem to be exaggerated. Women, children and old men—all accompanied the invaders, and although as such the number of the invaders was inflated, their military efficiency was marred. On many occasions 'Alāúddīn took prisoner a large number of women and children and sold them in the market of Delhi or put them to the sword. Thirdly, the qualities of the early Mughals which had given them magnificent successes in the early days of their history were now extinct. The agility, the mobility and the qualities of patience and endurance no longer marked the Mughals who invaded India, and it is strange indeed that on the occasion of the two sieges of Delhi in 1300 and 1303, 'Alāúddīn exhausted the patience of the Mughals and they retired without giving tough fights such as were needed for the conquest of an empire.

Fourthly, Dava Khan, who ruled for thirty two years, could send organised expeditions to India in spite of his engagement in Central Asia. His death in 1306 brought about disorder in Transoxiana. Within a period of two or three years three Khans—Kuyuk, Kubak and Taliku, ascended the throne. Even after that the affairs were not set right and Kubak had to abdicate. He was reinstated in 1321. In these circumstances Mughal invasions to India could not be organised and sent at regular intervals. On the contrary Ghazi Tughlaq used to harass the Mughals themselves.

And lastly, the main cause of the Mughal defeat lies in the fact that they had come to fight with a king who himself was a war-lord. The patience, integrity and the military genius of 'Alāúddīn as well as his courage and perseverance

⁸⁶ *Khazain*, Habīb Trs. p. 25.

are clearly manifested in his talk with Malik 'Alā-ul-mulk who tried to dissuade him from fighting Qutlugh Khvājā. Alā-úddīn thought it his bounden duty to fight the foreign foe. He effected various reforms, he raised a huge army and through studied determination always repulsed the Mughal inroads until they stopped altogether.

CHAPTER XII

KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN DEVAGIRI AND WARANGAL

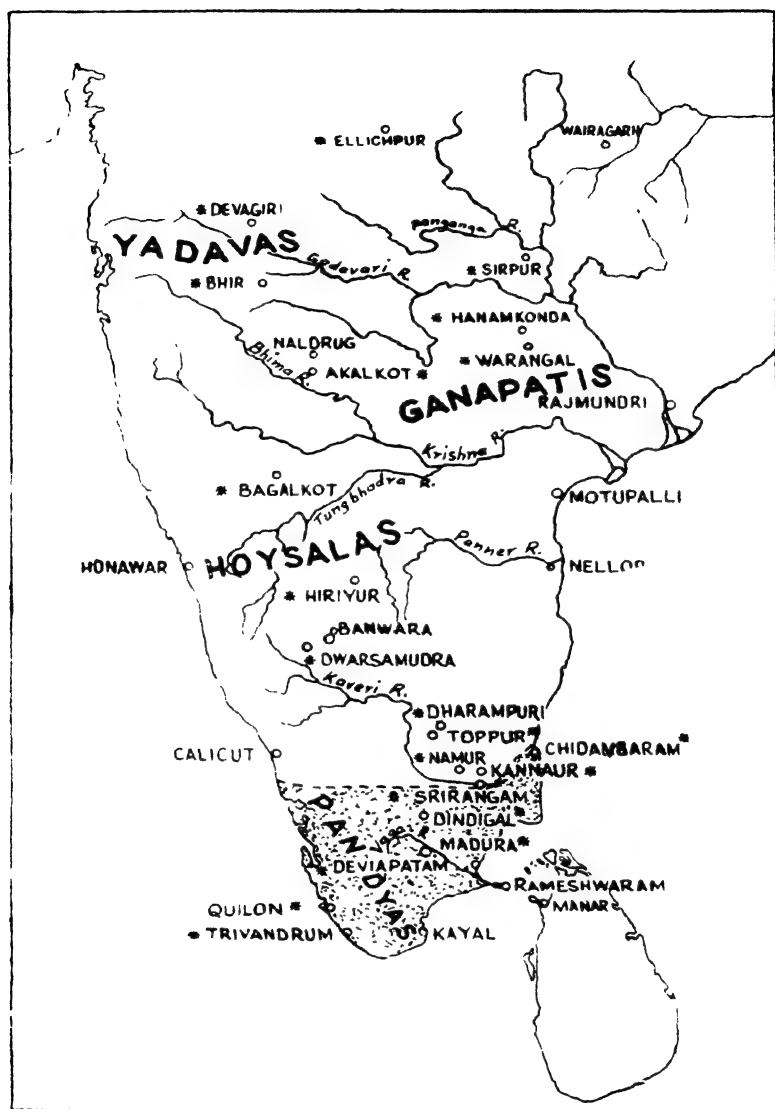
By the end of the first decade of the 14th century Sultan 'Alāuddīn had accomplished the conquest of almost the whole of north India, had checked the tide of Mughal aggression, and had effected reforms in civil and military spheres. Under his stern administration peace, if not plenty, prevailed. The barons, the traders as well as the peasants were kept under strict control so that all opposition to his despotism was paralysed. A large army consisting of 4,75,000¹ well-equipped soldiers was regularly paid and well looked after by the state; and relying on its strength the emperor embarked upon the conquest of the Deccan peninsula.

On a previous occasion Devagiri had provided 'Alāuddīn with a large amount of treasure. The greed of gold and the lust for glory—the two incentives of all conquerors—now prompted him to invade all the kingdoms of the Deccan one after the other. Once the plan of conquest of the south had been thought of, a pretext, if a pretext was necessary, was also got at hand. Ram Chandra of Devagiri, who had submitted to 'Alāuddīn in 1296 and had promised to send yearly tribute, had not forwarded anything to Delhi for some time past. Consequently Malik Kāfūr was ordered to lead an

¹ According to Baranī 'Alāuddīn sent a fresh army to the Deccan besides the one maintained for controlling the north-west frontier. According to Ferishta the total strength of the army was 475,000.

Ferishta p. 114.

Baranī p. 326.



Southern India at the beginning
of the XIV Century

Places marked with asterisk
were visited by Malik Kāfur

To face page 180

expedition into Devagiri and recover arrears of tribute. But this expedition of 1308 was only a prelude to a number of others like it. It is necessary, therefore, to have a glimpse of the then political condition of the south to understand them in their proper perspective.

Kingdoms of the Deccan at the dawn of the XIV century.

At the time of Malik Kāfūr's invasion the Deccan peninsula was divided into four big and wealthy kingdoms. Devagiri lay south of the Vindhya, and to its south-east was situated the kingdom of Telingana, with capital at Warangal. It was ruled by Kakatiya or Ganapati rulers. To the south of Devagiri and south-west of Telingana was situated the kingdom of Dwarsamudra ruled by the powerful Hoysalas. To the extreme south lay the mighty kingdom of the Pandyas, known to the Muslim chroniclers as the country of M'abar.

We have already discussed the power and possessions of Devagiri in chapter IV. As to the kingdom of Telingana, it flourished under the able rule of Ganapati who ascended the throne in 1199-1200. Ganapati's reign was long and he made extensive conquests on the coast from Nellore northward to the frontiers of Orissa. After him his wife Rudrambā Dēvi, a princess of Devagiri who ascended the throne in 1260-61, ably ruled the kingdom for full three decades. It was during her reign that Marco Polo, the famous Venetian traveller visited Motupille, a famous port of that kingdom, now lying in the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency.² Marco Polo calls queen Rudramba

² Motupille, on the mouth of river Krishna, perhaps separated Telingana from M'abar. Marco Polo writes: "When you leave Mabar and go in a northerly direction, you come to the kingdom of Mutfili." It was then a big centre of trade and commerce. It is now only a village in the Krishna District, Madras.

Yule: *Ser Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 346. .

"a lady . . . of much distinction . . . a lover of justice, of equity, and of peace."³ But for his compliments her's is an empty name in the dynastic list of the Kākatiyas of Warangal. She continued to reign till 1292 when her daughter's son Pratap Rudra Deva attained majority and she abdicated in his favour. It was during the reign of Pratap Rudra Dev (Ladder Deo of Muslim chroniclers) that Telingana was invaded by the armies of Delhi under Malik Naib Kāfūr.

To the west and south-west of Telingana was situated the kingdom of the Hoysalas with its capital at Dwarsamudra (modern Halbeid).⁴ Since the decline of the Chola empire the Hoysalas from the north and the Pandyas from the extreme south continuously fought diplomatic as well as military battles at the expense of the Cholas. In a record⁵ of the time of Nara Simha II (1224-1234) the Hoysala empire is said to have extended upto Nangili on the east, Kongu (Salem and Coimbatore) on the south, Alvakheda (south Canara) on the west, and Heddore (Krishna) on the north. The Hoysalas continued to carry on conquests and Vikramapura, the southern capital of Someśvara, son of Nara Simha, has been identified with the modern Kannanur, near Trichnopoly.⁶ The glory of the kingdom was eclipsed when after Someśvara the two claimants of the throne, Nara

³ Ibid. vol. II, p. 340.,

Yule and Cordier, Vol. II, pp. 359-63.

⁴ The derivation of the name of Dwarsamudra is not clear. Mr. Rice would connect it with Devarpuri mentioned in a legend which traces the Hoysalas to a mythical person Salā. Mr. Krishna Shastri believes that the Hoysala capital must have been so named after its founder who was called either Dhara or Dora. The modern name Halbeid (old capital) was perhaps applied to it after the seat of government was transferred thence to Tiruvannamalai by Ballāla III.

Arch. Sur. Rep. 1907-08 note p. 235.

⁵ *Arch. Sur. Rep.* 1907-08 p. 235.

⁶ *Arch. Sur. Rep.* 1909-10. p. 155.

Simha III and Vira Ramnath separated, the former ruling the ancestral dominions with capital at Dwarsamudra and the latter the southern portion of the empire. It seems, however, that Nara Simha either ousted or outlived Vira Ramnath. In 1292 Nara Simha was succeeded by Ballāla III (Ballal Deo of the Muhammadan historians) and he reunited the whole of the Hoysala empire in 1302.⁷

To the extreme south lay the kingdom of the Pandyas. In the 12th century the Pandya kingdom had suffered irreparable damage owing to internal strifes, and the consequent intervention by the Cholas—Rajadhirāj II and his heir apparent Kulottunga III—from the north, and by the Ceylonese king from the south. But then, in the 13th century, the Pandyas began to assert themselves and under Mārāvarman Sundra Pandyas I and II, who reigned from 1216 to 1239 and 1239 to 1255 respectively, the Pandyas recovered much of their lost prestige. The next Pandya king Jatavarman Sundara Pandya, who ruled upto 1274, was a warrior of great repute and reduced the whole of the Chola empire. He invaded the Malabar country and defeated and killed the Chera king. He also fought with the Hoysala king Somesvara. Jatavarman had two or three brothers who ruled as independent sovereigns in different principalities of the Pandya empire but were subordinate to

⁷ There are a good number of inscriptions to corroborate Ramnath's aggressive attitude. About the year 1290 he appears to have led a campaign against Dwarsamudra itself but the Pandya Mahāvarman Kulasekhara (1268-1311) did not permit Ramnath to do much harm to his brother. Ramnath's son Vishvanath succeeded him in 1293-4 and ruled upto 1302 when the whole of the empire was united under Ballāla III. *Arch. Sur. Rep.* 1909-10 pp. 157-159.

Also *Epig. Carnatica*, Inscriptions in the Mysore District, Part I, 1894, Inscription no. 121.

the chief king Jatavarman Sundara.⁸ One of them went by the name of Vikram Pandya, another by that of Vira Pandya. Both of them lay claim to conquests.⁹ A record of Vira Pandya states that he took Ilam (Ceylon), Kongu and the Solamandalam (the Chola country).¹⁰

The greatest king among the Pandyas, however, was Mārāvarmana Kulasekhara (Kales Devar of Muhammadan historians) who ascended in 1268¹¹ and ruled almost upto 1311 when the Musalmans invaded the Pandya kingdom. During his long and prosperous rule Marco Polo visited the

⁸ Robert Sewell in his article entitled "The chronology of the Pandya Monarchy" entertains doubt as to how more than one prince of equal authority ruled over one country. He says that there is no published inscription nor there is any indication in the writings of Amīr Khusrau and Vaṣṣāf that the kingdom was divided among a number of brothers. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. 44, 1915.)

What Sewell thinks is not incorrect, since the presence of more than one king in a kingdom sounds strange. It is, however, not improbable that two or three Pandya princes, who may have been brothers of the ruling king conquered the neighbouring countries (and inscriptions show that the Pandyas conquered much during the reign of Jat. Sundara I) and settled there as independent rulers. But, of course, they were in no way disobedient or refractory towards the chief king Jat. Sundara Pandya I. Alqal Qāshindi, the Arab geographer, quoting *Masālikul Absār* says that in Durasamand (Dwarsamudra) were "sultan Bilal Deo and five infidel kings." Thus the fact that a number of princes simultaneously ruled in the Deccan was widely known. Alqal Qāshindi p. 63.

⁹ Aiyangar pp. 53-54.

¹⁰ *Arch. Sur. Rep.* 1905-06 pp. 168-70.

¹¹ Of the Pandya inscriptions one (no. 55 of 1904) confirms Prof. Kielhorn's calculation of A.D. 1268 as the initial date of the reign of Mara. Kulasekhara I; another (no. 702 of 1904) shows that in A.D. 1264-65 the Pandyas were in possession of Kannanur near Trichnopoly, which was the Hoysala capital of the Chola country. *Arch. Sur. Rep.* 1904-05 pp. 129.

port of Kayal lying in his dominions. He dwells at length on the wealth and prosperity of the country and calls Kulasekhara by the name of Asciar. Mārāvarmana Kulasekhara is also known by the title of Konerinmaikondan, or the king who had no equal, and is recorded to have ruled both over Chola and Pandya countries. He is also described as ruling from Madura, which was formerly a capital of the Hoysalas. This fact shows that the conquests of Kulasekhara were wide and extensive.¹² It was he who sent an expedition to the island of Ceylon and defeated the Ceylonese king Prakarma Bāhū. There are also references found of diplomatic intercourse between China and M'abar (Ma-pa-rh).¹³

Mārāvarmana Kulasekhara had two sons Sundara Pandya III, legitimate, and Vira Pandya, illegitimate. According to Muslim historians the king thought Vira Pandya more fitted to succeed him and actually nominated him as his successor. Thus, while Vira was associated with

¹² One of the inscriptions in the Ramnad Dist. states that Kulasekhara constructed the walls of the temple at Tinnevely from the booty obtained from the Kerala, Chola and Hoysala kingdoms. *Arch. Sur. Rep.* 1926-27 p. 203.

¹³ Yule: *Ser Marco Polo*, Vol. II p. 337.

Aiyangar: *Invaders* p. 58.

Abul Feda distinctly names Cape Comorin as the point where Malabar ended. Vassāf also writes that it extended to Nilavar (Nellor).

Rashiduddin writing about 1300 A.D. speaks of M'abar, which was apparently another name for the Pandya country, as extending from Kulam (Quilon) to Nellor. This statement had been corroborated several years ago by an inscription of Sundara Pandya found at Nellor. Further confirmation is afforded by a number of Tamil records discovered in the southern portion of the Cuddapah distt.

Arch. Sur. Rep. 1907-8 p. 230.

Also Yule's note in *Ser Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 315.

the administration of the government from 1296, his brother had to wait till 1302-3, when he was also permitted to participate in the affairs of the state. As Vira Pandya was openly favoured by Kulasekhara, Sundara naturally grew jealous of him. The climax was reached when by the end of 709 A.H. (May 1310 A.D.)¹⁴ Sundara killed his father and the two brothers began to wage a war for the possession of the throne. In a battle Sundara was worsted and begged the Sultan of Delhi to help him to secure the crown. This, it is alleged, brought about Kāfūr's invasion of the Madura country.

Thus at the time of Malik Kāfūr's invasion south India presented a sorry spectacle of discord and internecine warfare. The boundaries of the four principal states used constantly to change because of the constant conflict between the Yadavās, the Hoysalas, the Kākatiyas and the Pandays.

Wealth of the Deccan.

In spite of the frequent warfare among the various kingdoms, no foreign conqueror had robbed the Deccan of its wealth which had been accumulated for centuries. A great many historians and travellers testify to the enormous wealth in the Deccan. Marco Polo describing the treasures of M'abar says, "When the king dies none of his children dares to touch his treasures. For they say! 'as our father did gather together all this treasure, so we ought to accumulate as much in our turn.' And in this way it comes to pass that there is an immensity of treasure accumulated in this kingdom."¹⁵ The Venetian traveller describes at length the jewellery the king wore about his person as well as the ways in which they used to obtain "very fine and

¹⁴ Vaṣṣāf Text p. 531.

¹⁵ Yule: *Ser Marco Polo*, II, p. 323.

great pearls' in M'abar. Nobody was permitted to take outside the kingdom pearls of high value. "This order has been given" says Marco Polo, "because the king desires to reserve all such for himself; and so in fact the quantity he has is something almost incredible."¹⁶ The fact that an enormous amount of wealth was squandered by the Pandya kings on endowments to temples and in securing horses of foreign breed is attested by contemporary inscriptions and writings of Vassāf and Polo.¹⁷ The latter further adds that the Pandya king "maintains great state and administers his kingdom with great equity, and extends great favour to merchants and foreigners, so that they are very glad to visit his city" (of Cail or Tinnevelley).¹⁸

Another writer who speaks about the wealth of the south is Shihābuddīn Abul Abbās Aḥmad, the author of *Masālikul Absār*. According to him gold had been flowing into India for a number of centuries and had never been exported.¹⁹ Amīr Khusrau, Baraūi and Ferishtah are all unanimously of opinion that the gold and treasures 'Alāuddīn and his general Malik Kāfūr brought from the south were enormous. Not only 'Alāuddīn but some years later Muḥammad Tughlaq also obtained immense booty from the Deccan. On one occasion the loot from a single temple amounted to a sum that was carried on 200 elephants and several thousand bullocks. Even after the immense amount of wealth 'Alāuddīn and Muḥammad bin Tughlaq carried away to the north, Bahmani and Vijayanagar kingdoms in the south still possessed vast treasures. The Arab traveller Abdurrazzāq who visited Deccan in the 14th century bears testimony to the power and prosperity of the Vijayanagar kingdom. "The

¹⁶ Yule: *Ser Marco Polo*, II, p. 323.

¹⁷ *Vaṣṣāf* p. 529

¹⁸ Yule: *Ser Marco Polo*, II, p. 357.

¹⁹ Elliot, III, p. 583.

country is for the most part well cultivated and fertile. In the king's treasury there are chambers with excavations in them, filled with molten gold, forming one mass. All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the *bazar*, wear jewels and ornaments."²⁰ Ferishtah also asserts that even the poor in the Deccan put on gold ornaments and the high class people used to eat in gold and silver plates.²¹

Such was the wealth of the Deccan which tempted the sultans of the north to lead plundering expeditions into this prosperous land. Both Maḥmūd of Ghazna and Muḥammad of Ghaur had an eye on the Deccan. Muḥmūd proceeded to Gujarat and sacked it successfully but Muḥammad was repulsed from there. Anyway neither of these two conquerors could march into the Deccan, but the idea of conquering the south and obtaining its wealth had gained fascination for ambitious conquerors. It was 'Alāuddīn Khaljī who for the first time had penetrated into the Deccan in 1296.

Second Expedition to Devagiri.

It has already been seen how Ram Deva, the Yadava ruler, had submitted to prince 'Alāuddīn in 1296. Since then he had sent yearly tributes to the court of Delhi, where the raider of Devagiri reigned as an emperor. But for two or three years before 1308 Ram Chandra had stopped sending any tribute.²² The actual reasons for this behaviour of the Maratha king are not known, but they can well be conjectured. It was a sheer chance that a freebooter had been successful over the Yadava king and even over his valiant son Singhana in 1296, but since then he had never been

²⁰ *Mutl'āus S'adāin*, Elliot, IV, pp. 106-7

²¹ *Ferishtah*, p. 120.

²² *Baranī*, p. 326.

Khazāin., Habīb Trs. pp. 69-73.

heard of in the Deccan again. For ten years Ram Deva sent the yearly tribute regularly. Thereafter he took advantage of the long distance between Devagiri and Delhi as also of the preoccupation of 'Alāuddīn with the Mughals and the Rajputs, and withheld the tribute from 1305 or 1306 onwards. According to 'Iṣāmī, Ram Deva's loyalty was unflinching, but his son,²³ with the people of the land, tried to assume independence even against his father's wishes. Ram Chandra was so incensed that he appealed to 'Alāuddīn to punish his son.²⁴ But the events of the expedition do not corroborate his statement. The reason of the invasion given by Baranī—that Ram Chandra had withheld the tribute for some years—seems to be most convincing.

Ram Chandra had calculated wrongly. Sultan 'Alāuddīn could not bear to let go the handsome revenue from Devagiri which multiplied his accumulated treasures every year. Consequently in 1308²⁵ he deputed Malik Naib Kāfūr, the hazārdināri slave captured in Gujarat in 1299, with a large force to invade Devagiri and realise the arrears of tribute from Ram Deva. Malik Kāfūr's 30,000 horses were

²³ 'Iṣāmī always makes mention of only one prince, Bhīllama; but it was chiefly Singhana who always opposed the Muslims from the north and carried on conquests in the south.

²⁴ *Futūḥ*. pp. 274-76.

²⁵ According to Ferishtah this expedition was sent in 1306, according to Amīr Khusrau in March 1307 (Ramzān 706 A.H.) and according to Baranī some time in 1308. Ferishtah adds that the conquest of Sevana was accomplished in the year in which the expedition to Devagiri was sent. Amīr Khusrau also describes the conquest of Sevana just after this expedition (*Khazain* Habib Trans, p. 53). Sevana was captured in 1308 according to Ferishtah and in 1310 according to Khusrau. The dates are perplexing. It appears that the contemporary writer Baranī is correct and the year 1308 is most convincing as it falls nearest to the date of the conquest of Sevana.

reinforced by the armies of Khvājā Hājī, 'Ainul Mulk Multani and Alp Khan, the governor of Gujarat. These joint forces were to chastise the delinquent Maratha chief, to realise three years' tribute from him and to obtain possession of Deval Rani the younger daughter of Rai Karan Baghela, ex-king of Gujarat then a fugitive in Nandurbar.

According to Ferishtah, Kamla Devi, the wife of Raja Karan, who had been forced into the imperial *haram* after the fall of Gujarat and who had now been reconciled to her lot, requested 'Alāuddīn to secure her daughter Deval Devi from the custody of her father. Kamla Devi had two daughters by her former husband. The elder one had died but the younger one, who was an infant of six months²⁶ at the time of the invasion of Gujarat, was left with Raja Karan. Kamla's motherly instinct was roused when she heard of an army being sent to Devagiri, where Karan had taken refuge, and she requested the Sultan to obtain Deval Devi. In this way the ex-queen of Gujarat proved to be the cause of much misery and humiliation to her former husband.²⁷

Eversince the kingdom of Gujarat had been overrun by the Muhammadans Rai Karan had taken refuge with the Yadava king of Devagiri—another victim of the invincible arms of 'Alāuddīn. Ram Chandra had treated the fugitive well and had given him Baglana, a portion of his own territory, to rule. Rai Karan established his capital at Nandurbar²⁸

²⁶ For her age see Chapter XVIII note 7

²⁷ This incident has not been mentioned by Ziyā Baranī. Nizamuddin mixes the two expeditions of Gujarat of 1299 and 1308 into one and says that Deval Rani was captured when Karan lost Gujarat. Amir Khusrau describes the capture of Deval Devi under a separate expedition but does not give any date for it. Ferishtah, however, gives this expedition in detail and describes it in the events of the year 706 (1306 A.D.).

²⁸ Ibn Battūṭah describes Nadurbar (Nandurbar) as a small town inhabited by the Marathas.

and began to rule there in peace. Singhana Deva, son of Ram Deva, had all this time cherished to obtain the hand of Deval Devi, a Rajput princess, but Rai Karan even in his exile was reluctant to agree to this *mesalliance* and had constantly refused the offer. Meanwhile, Malik Kāfūr marched southwards and was joined by Alp Khan and 'Ainul Mulk Multani. After crossing Malwa Kāfūr sent a message to Rai Karan to deliver his daughter or be ready for an encounter with the imperial armies. Karan Beghela spurned the humiliating alternative and prepared for defence. Malik Naib Kāfūr desired Alp Khan to march with his forces through the mountains of Baglana and obtain possession of the peerless princess while he himself proceeded towards Devagiri. For two months Karan stood at bay and baffled all attempts of Alp Khan to force a passage. Singhana Deva finding the Baghela king in pressing circumstances renewed the offer of marriage and sent his younger brother Bhillama to escort the bride to Devagiri. The Rajput king, in his helpless state, sent the princess to Devagiri with a small escort under Bhillama.

But fate had decreed otherwise. As the bride was on the way to her new home, Karan was being hard pressed by Alap Khan and in a severe engagement was totally defeated. Leaving his baggage and tents on the field of battle he also fled towards Devagiri hotly pursued by the enemy. One day while the royalists were pursuing Raja Karan, about three hundred Muslim soldiers after obtaining permission from their commander went out on a visit to the famous caves of Ellora. Suddenly they saw a body of troops advancing towards them and mistaking them for a contingent of the retreating enemy fell upon them and a tough fight ensued. These troops were not a force of Rai Karan but the escort of Deval Rani, the destined bride of Singhana. An arrow pierced her horse and she fell upon the ground. The rowdy soldiers at once surrounded her, but on being told

that she was the much-sought for Deval Devi, they took her to their general. The capture of Deval filled the heart of Alp Khan with joy and the princess was despatched to Delhi to be admitted into the royal *haram* to live upto a tragic and unfortunate end.²⁹

Deval Rani had been captured and the forces of Alp Khan marched to join Malik Naib in punishing Ram Deva. Malik Kāfūr arrived in Devagiri plundering and ravaging on the way and in the capital itself. It appears that Ram Chandra was not at all prepared for an invasion and stood to resist the invaders only with a feeble army. He was totally defeated in the battle that ensued. His son, unwilling to surrender to the enemy, fled away from the field of action with a few followers.³⁰ Ram Chandra sued for peace. Malik Kāfūr captured some elephants and treasure and sent Ram Deva, his family and relations to Delhi to make submission to the Sultan personally.³¹ 'Alāuddīn was overjoyed at the success of his commander. He received Ram Deva kindly and provided for him princely comforts at the capital. After a stay of six months Ram Chandra was permitted to return to his kingdom and was honoured with the title of Rai Rayān and a canopy. Added to these distinctions the Yadava prince was given one hundred thousand gold tankahs and the

²⁹ The tragedy of her later life is described in chapter XX.

³⁰ *Khalzain*, Habīb Trans, pp. 51-2.

³¹ Hājīuddabīr says that Ram Chandra met Malik Kāfūr because he had confidence in 'Alāuddīn, but Kāfūr arrested him and seized whatever he had. He took him to Delhi and told the king what he had done. The sultan chid him for misbehaving with a vanquished prince and honoured Ram Deva. *Zafarul Vali*, p. 155.

This version may not be discredited. 'Alāuddīn's instructions to Kāfūr on the occasions of later expeditions clearly show that 'Alāuddīn apprehended some unbecoming behaviour on the part of Kāfūr towards the vanquished princes.

district of Navasari was added to his dominions.³² Ram chandra was back in Devagiri by the end of the year 1308.

Ram Chandra felt very grateful to 'Alāuddīn for his considerate behaviour and thenceforward he was ever subservient to the Delhi Sultan, never disobeyed his orders and until he died he sent tributes to the capital regularly.³³ The treatment accorded to Ram Deva was not without ulterior motives. On the contrary this was a great diplomatic move of 'Alāuddīn. He had now an unflinching ally in the south who would surely help the Sultan in his further plans. As would be seen later Ram Chandra gave invaluable help to Malik Kāfūr during his march further south.

The Campaign of Warangal (1309-10).

The expedition to Devagiri was a grand success indeed, and Sultan 'Alāuddīn turned his attention to the kingdoms lying farther south. As Dr. Aiyangar aptly remarks " 'Alāuddīn's object in these various invasions of the Deccan and the farther south appears to have gone no further than making them the milch-cow for the gold that he was often much in need of for the efficient maintenance of his army to keep Hindustan free from internal disturbance and invasion by the Mughals from outside."³⁴ That this was actually his policy is clear from the instructions he gave to Malik Kāfūr on the eve of the expedition against Warangal

³² Baranī p. 326. Ferishtah p. 118.

³³ Baranī p. 326 has

ازان تاریخ تازیست را مدیو سلطان علاالدین را اطاعت
کرد و سر از خط فرمان بیرون نیاورد و انقیاد زندگانی بسرو
برد و خدمت متواتر در شهری فرستاد -

³⁴ Aiyangar: *Invaders* p. 87.

According to Amīr Khusrau it was on the 25th of Jamādiul Avval 709 (31st October, 1309) that the Sultan ordered Malik Naib Kāfūr "to lead his lucky horses" towards the south and reduce the kingdom of Telingana with its capital at Warangal (Arangal of the Muslim historians). In spite of the fact that Muslim arms had on two previous occasions won brilliant victories in Devagiri, the Sultan quite realised that south India was an alien land. And, therefore, before sending Malik Naib to the south 'Alāuddīn gave him some very valuable instructions. He told him that he was going to an unfamiliar country and should, therefore, not be very much self-willed and obstinate. He should work in cooperation with Malik Sirājuddīn, the 'Arīz-i-Mumālīk, and other important officers. He should treat the troops leniently and avoid any cause of resentment or revolt. He was advised to connive at minor acts of misconduct and disorderly behaviour of the soldiers. If any soldier wanted a fresh horse or a loan it was to be given to him. In short, he was neither to be so lenient to the commanders, nobles or soldiers as to render them impertinent and disrespectful, nor was he to let his severity turn them into his enemies. As to the treatment to be meted out to the king Warangal, Malik Kāfūr was advised to capture the fort and overthrow the Raja; and if Rai Pratap Rudra Deva (Iaddar Deo of Muslim chronicles) consented to surrender his treasures and elephants and also agreed to pay a yearly tribute thereafter, the royal commander was not to insist for more, lest the Rai should be forced into desperate resistance. If he was successful in securing all the treasures and elephants of Warangal, he should not insist that the Rai should come to wait on him and "for the sake of his own name and fame, he should not bring the Rai with him to Delhi."³⁵

³⁵ Baranī pp. 327-28.

Having received these instructions, Malik Kāfūr left Delhi with the Red canopy and a large force under his command. He first went to Rabri (Rewari), his own fief, and then took the road to the south. He marched on the old route through Chanderi, crossing many fast flowing streams like Chambal, Kuwari, Sindh and Betwa³⁶ and traversing hilly tracts. On the way many rajas and governors joined the forces of Kāfūr. The army reached Irijpur,³⁷ otherwise known as Sultanpur, after fifteen marches. As Malik Naib was already acquainted with the road to Devagiri he marched straight towards that kingdom *en route* to Warangal. The army arrived at Khanda³⁸ in the first week of December 1309 (Rajjab 709) where it stayed for a fortnight. In the next march the royal forces reached a place called Nilkanth³⁹ by Amīr Khusrau, and said to be lying on the borders of Devagiri. From there they marched quietly, for the Vazīr Kāfūr, "acting according to the emperor's orders, protected the country from being plunder-

³⁶ *Khazāin* has Jūn (Jumna). Chambal, Kunwari, Binās and Bhoji. Jumna is a mistake, for there was no need to cross it while going south. Chambal and Kunwari (Kuwari of the map) are well known rivers. Banas is an off-shoot of Chambal, but here probably river Sindh is meant which the army must have met after Chambal on its southward march. Bhoji is undoubtedly modern Betwa, which flows near Bhilsa and Chanderi.

³⁷ Irij lies 65 miles south-east of Gwalior. It should not be mistaken for Ellichpur.

Also Hoḍivala pp. 252-53.

³⁸ Prof. Aiyangar was inclined to identify it with Khandar, somewhere in north of Bidar, but on later thought considered it to be Khandwa. But according to Amīr Khusrau when the army left it after a stay of 14 days, it crossed the Narbada. Khandwa lies in south of Narbada and not to its north, and therefore, Khanda cannot be Khandwa. The place is difficult to identify.

³⁹ This place is difficult to identify. It lay somewhere between Daulatabad and Sirpur.

ed by the troops," because they were passing through the territories of the Rai Rayan Ram Deva, an ally of the Sultanate of Delhi.⁴⁰ Ram Chandra on his part looked to all the conveniences of the imperial army while they were marching towards Warangal on a path "narrower than a guitar-string and darker than a beauty's lock." He established markets on the way through which the army passed so that the soldiers might buy the necessaries of life for themselves at rates fixed by the Sultan at Delhi.⁴¹ He even reinforced the Muslim army with some of his Maratha forces, and made adequate arrangements for provisions and other necessaries of the advancing forces. He himself went for some distance with Malik Kāfur, and then returned to Devagiri.

Amīr Khusrāu gives a list of names of places, now difficult to locate, through which the royal army passed. For certain, it passed through Basirgarh (Wairagarh) which was in the doab of the two rivers Yashr (Basilhar) and Buji.⁴² On emerging from Devagiri and entering the borders of Telingana Malik Kāfur began to ravage towns and villages on his way. Before marching straight to Warangal, he invested the fort of Sabar (Sīrpur)⁴³ lying northwards in the kingdom of Telingana. The besieged fought

⁴⁰ *Khazain*, Habib Trans., pp. 58-9.

⁴¹ *Ferishtah* p. 119.

⁴² Prof. Hodivala says that there can be little doubt that Basirgarh is a misreading for Bairagarh i.e. Wairagarh. The Aild. Uni. Ms. fol. 40(b) has Bairagarh بیراگر. The town is situated very close to the left bank of the Wain Ganga on a tributary of that river called Kobragarhi, about 80 miles S.E. of Nagpur.

The names of the two rivers are obviously corrupt. One of them must be a tributary of Wain Ganga or the river itself.

Also see Hodivala p. 254.

⁴³ It is situated 19.32 N. 79.45 E.

valiantly, but unable to resist the terrific onslaught, preferred for their wives and children the consuming flames to dishonour, and for themselves a glorious death on battlefield to abject surrender. The governor (Muqaddam) of the fort was probably killed in action, and his brother called Ananūr by Khusrau, was left in charge of the fort on promise of obedience in future. By January 1310 (Sh'abān 709) the army reached in the vicinity of Warangal. A contingent of a thousand horsemen was detached and sent forward as a reconnoitring party. It took possession of the hill of Hanmuakonda (An-Makinda of Khusrau) from where all the buildings and gardens of Warangal could be seen further south.

The fort of Warangal was made of stone, but it was encircled by a thick earthen wall which was perhaps stronger than the stone edifice itself. Its construction had been begun in the time of Ganapati Deva and was completed by his talented wife, the famous queen Rudramba Devi. It was one of the strongest forts in southern India. Malik Kāfūr twice examined the fortress before he pitched his tents round it, and ordered the commencement of the siege. Amīr Khusrau describes the siege in his usual graphic style. "It was on the 15th of Sh'abān (January 18th, 1310) that Khvājā Naṣīrulmulk Sirājuddaula personally arranged the troops with a lighted lamp. Every division was sent to its appointed place in order to surround the fort and to protect the besiegers from the fire of the besieged. . . . Every *tuman* was assigned one thousand two hundred yards of land; the total circumference of the fort, as enclosed by the tents, was twelve thousand five hundred and forty six yards."⁴⁴ On the other side brave Rayas were appointed to all the towers (*kangūrās*) of the fort. Stones were collected and those who did not have stones threw down upon the besiegers

⁴⁴ Khazain, Habib Trs. p. 63.

bricks and small scimeters. As the besiegers were reflecting on the way by which the fort, which was surrounded and secured by a ditch alround, could be stormed, Vinayak Deva (Banik Deo of Khusrau) a governor in the kingdom of Telingana, one night attacked the Muslim army from the rear and created consternation in the royal camp. Many soldiers were killed on both sides but finally the Hindus were worsted and the attack proved abortive. Meanwhile Malik Qara Beg, of the left wing, carried on a raid in the neighbourhood and captured some elephants.

The work of filling the moat round the fort was begun with feverish activity. To guard against a sudden attack from the enemy, orders were given to the soldiers to fell trees and construct a barricade. By throwing mud and stones and other things the ditch was filled at one place and the Muslim army could reach the bastions of the fort. Malik Naib called a council of officers, and all the generals unanimously agreed that the construction of *pashib* for escalading the walls of the fort was a hard task. They decided to engage the enemy in a hand to hand fight before constructing a *pashib*. By the middle of February a breach in the outer walls was effected by the sinewy "diggers." After persitent efforts for a whole week the imperial general got possession of the outer fortress of mud and then began the investment of the inner fort of stone, by crossing another ditch that lay between the two lines of fortification.

At Delhi the Sultan was anxiously following the progress of the expedition to Warangal. The posts which had been establish all along from Delhi to Warangal, and through which 'Alāuddīn used to get intelligence about the royal army, were disorganised obviously owing to enemy activity. Consequently no news about Malik Naib reached the Sultan for more than a month. 'Alāuddīn in his extreme anxiety sent Qazi Mughisuddīn of Bayana to Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Aulia, a venerable saint of the day, to request him

to prophesy about the success of the army. Nizāmuddīn gave a very encouraging reply by saying that he not only expected success that time but also hoped for further victories in future. The Sultan was overjoyed at the observation of the Saint, and by a strange coincidence of circumstances, the news of Kāfūr's victory at Warangal reached the capital the same day.⁴⁵

When the siege had been sufficiently prolonged and the condition of the people inside the fortress had become very critical, Pratap Rudra Deva made overtures to Malik Kāfūr with terms of a truce. He promised to present treasures, precious stones, elephants, horses, and other valuable articles and also to send yearly tribute of the same value to Delhi. He also sent a golden image of himself with a golden chain round its neck to symbolise his humility and unconditional surrender. Malik Kāfūr, adhering to the advice of 'Alāuddīn, demanded of the Rai his entire wealth and threatened a general massacre of the population of the city if he was found keeping anything hidden for himself. Rudra Deva finding himself helpless consented to the terms of the treaty forced upon him, and surrendered all the treasures which had been accumulated during the course of many generations. According to Baranī, Pratap Rudra Deva gave 100 elephants,⁴⁶ 7000 horses and other precious articles and promised to send an equal amount of tribute in future years.⁴⁷ Among the precious stones which the Rai surrendered was the famous Koh-i-Nūr, which according to many later writers, including Khafi Khan, was brought by Malik Kāfūr from the Deccan.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Baranī pp. 330-32.

⁴⁶ Ferishtah p. 119 has 300 elephants.

⁴⁷ Baranī p. 330. According to Khusrāu the money promised by the Rai was 10,000,000,000 rupees; but this is only an imaginary figure.

⁴⁸ See Ianepoole: *Aurangzeb* p. 150. Tavernier's *Travels* Vol. II APP. I. *Khazain*, Habīb Trs. p. 77.

Now, in spite of the exaggerated accounts of Baranī and Khusrau with regard to the terms of the treaty, the inner fortress never seems to have capitulated to the Muslim invader; nor did Pratap Rudra himself go to make submission to Malik Kāfūr. Only his envoys, who went to settle the terms of the treaty, bowed before the royal canopy.⁴⁹ 'Iṣāmī also says that after the settlement of peace terms a robe of honour embroidered with jewels was sent to Rudra Deva *inside the fort*.⁵⁰

By the middle of March, 1310, Malik Kāfūr returned towards the north through Devagiri, Dhar and Jhain. So enormous was the booty captured by him that a thousand camels "groaned under the weight" of the treasures. Before he arrived in Delhi the news of his victory had already reached the Sultan. On receipt of the intelligence of the victory festivities were held and the happy tidings of the success were read from the pulpits of the mosques. The victorious Vazīr was received in a decorated *darbar* under a black pavilion before the Chabutra-Nāṣiri on 24th Muḥarram 710 (June 23rd, 1310).⁵¹ The treasures brought from the Deccan were displayed before the Sultan, who was greatly pleased with his favourite general and rewarded him generously.

⁴⁹ *Khazain.*, Habīb Trs. pp. 74-75.

⁵⁰ *Futūḥ* p. 283.

⁵¹ Allahabad University Ms. (fol. 56) has Zilq'ada 710 A.H. which is equivalent to March-April 1310. The date given above from Prof. Habīb's translation of the *Khazain* seems more correct as Kāfūr must have taken one or two months to reach Delhi.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FAR SOUTH

DWARSAMUDRA AND M'ABAR

On return from Warangal Malik Kāfūr had many a thing to tell about the Deccan. He had been well acquainted with the peninsular India and apprised the Sultan of the rich kingdoms lying farther south—the kingdoms of Dwarsamudra and M'abar. He told 'Alāuddīn that while he was in Warangal he had heard that the king of M'abar possessed 500 large elephants, and expressed a keen desire to lead an expedition into that far off kingdom. Alāuddīn was more eager than his Vazīr to see his banner unfurled in the remotest corners of India, and had already determined to send Malik Naib at the head of another expedition. The motive of the despatch of the expedition appears to be the same as that of the two previous ones, namely, the possession of treasures and elephants; but Amīr Khus-ran says that "now with a sincere motive" the emperor thought of sending an expedition to the south "so that the light of the *sharī'at* may reach there."¹

On the 24th of Jamadiul-Ākhir 710 (20th November 1310²) Malik 'Izzuddaulah Naib-Barbak Kāfūr started with a large army towards M'abar, which lay on the sea and which was "so far from Delhi that a man travelling with an expedition can only reach it after a journey of twelve

¹ *Khazain*. Habīb Trs. p. 80.

² Habīb's Trs. of *Khazain* has 26th of Jamadul Ākhir Elliot's and Aلد. Uni.'s Mss. have 24th. Baranī simply says "by the end of the year 710 A.H.

months." The army marched southwards by the bank of Jumna and halted at Tankal or Natgal,³ a village on the river. They halted there for a fortnight and when all the soldiers had arrived and got enrolled they resumed their march southwards. They traversed difficult roads and arrived at a place named Kaithun⁴ after which they crossed Narbada and two other rivers smaller than that. At the end of this march the imperial commander received envoys of Pratap Rudra Deva, who had sent twenty three elephants as a present for the Sultan. The army halted at Gurgam (Khargon)⁵ where a muster of troops was held and the elephants of the king of Telingana were sent to Delhi. The river Tavi (Tapti) was crossed and Devagiri was reached on the 13th of Ramzān 710 (February 4th, 1311). Here Malik Kāfūr halted for some days to obtain spears and arrows and other weapons of war "for overthrowing Bilal Deo and other deos (demons)."

According to Baranī when Malik Naib reached Devagiri Ram Deva had died.⁶ Ferishtah follows Baranī in this statement. But the statements of Amīr Khusrāu and

³ The village is not traceable on the maps now available. Baranī, however, suggests the same route as selected on previous occasion and says that Malik Naib first marched to Rewari and then went straight to Devagiri.

⁴ Kaithun or Kanhūr has been identified by Prof. Aiyangar with Kanhūn in Rajputana, "a little aside of the road from Ujjain to Delhi". *Invaders*, p. 101.

⁵ Prof. Aiyangar first identified Gurgam with Kharegam of the maps a little way S.W. of Indore (*Invaders*, p. 101) and then was inclined to place it somewhere between Burhanpur and Tapti and left the exact situation undecided. (Introduction to the Trs. of *Khazain* p. xxx.). Prof. Hoḍivala thinks it to be Khargon which lies on the Kundi river, a tributary of Narbada in 21.50 N 75.37 E. He gives the names of numerous writers of medieval period who have referred to this town. Hoḍivala, p. 256.

⁶ Baranī p. 333.

'Isāmī point to the fact that Ram Deva was living when Kāfūr passed Devagiri *en route* to Dwarsamudra. Khusrau describes in detail the help rendered by the Yadava king to the Imperial general. 'Isāmī also says that Ram Chandra was invited to Delhi by 'Alāúddīn in prince Khizr Khan's marriage with the daughter of Alp Khan, and the latter attended it.⁷ This marriage was performed on the 23rd of Ramṣan 711 A.H. (February 4th, 1312). It is obvious, therefore, that Ram Deva died some time after this event. Moreover at another place Ferishtah himself says that Malik Naib was sent to the Deccan again in 712 A.H. (1312 A.D.) because Singhana Deva had assumed independence in the life-time of his father. It is clear, therefore, that Ram Deva was alive at the time of the expedition to Dwarsamudra and died some time in 1312 A.D.

Rai Rayan Ram Deva helped the Muslim general in every possible way. He ordered that everything needed by the imperial army should be placed in the market, a thing he had done at the time of the invasion of Warangal. Amīr Khusrau says that the Hindus did not quarrel with the Muslim soldiers, nor did the latter create any trouble, and the transactions in the market were carried on peacefully.⁸ Ram Deva deputed Parasuram Deva (Paras Deo Delvi), his commander-in-chief on the southern frontier, to help the Muslim army on its southward march. Parasuram rendered all help and assistance in the conquest of "Bir and Dhur Samandar." Malik Kāfūr left the Amanabād of Devagiri for the Kharababād of Paras Deva. They travelled on hills and in dales and crossed streams "some roaring, others softly melodious." In five stages they reached the bor-

⁷ *Futūḥ* p. 316.

⁸ Khazain. The Allahabad University Ms. fol. 61(b).

ders of the Hoysalas after crossing rivers Godavari, Sini and Bhīma.⁹

While Kāfūr was marching into the capital of the Hoysalas, king Ballāla III had gone father south with his force. It has been mentioned before that Māravarman Kulasekhara had two sons Sundara Pandya and Vīra Pandya. Vīra was very much liked by the king and was nominated as his successor. Sundara Pandya could not tolerate such open favouritism. In a paroxym of rage he killed his father and crowned himself at Mardi (Madura).¹⁰ This unfilial act resulted in a bloody warfare between the two brothers. With the help of his cousin, Vīra Pandya defeated Sundara, who fled northwards and begged assistance from Alāuddīn at Delhi or from his general Kāfūr who was then present in the Deccan.¹¹ It was this unsettled condition which had prompted Vīra Ballāla III to march with an army and gain by the disaffection of the two brothers. Just then the news of the invasion of his own territories by the Muhammadans fell upon his ears like a thunderbolt. He hastened to protect his own country not to speak of invading another's. Kāfūr had learnt at Bandri¹² about everything that was happening in the southern kingdoms of the Hoysalas and the Pandyas. He held a council of war and working according to its deliberations started with 10,000 chosen horses on 23rd Ramzan (February 14th, 1311) and crossing hills and torrents appeared before the citadel of Dwarsamudra¹³ (Dhur

⁹ The position in the text is transposed. Therein the rivers are given: "Sini, Godavari and Bhinur (Bhima)".

¹⁰ Aiyangar, p. 97.

¹¹ *Vaṣṣāf*, p. 531.

¹² Prof. Aiyangar identifies Bandri with Pandharpur and adds that it seems to have been then a frontier station between the Yadava and Hoysala dominions. (*Invaders*, p. 102.)

¹³ Two records dated probably 1310-11 A.D. refer to a Muhammadan invasion of Dwarsamudra. *Epi. Carn.* Vol. V, Hassan Taluq nos. 51 and 52.

Samandar of Khusrau) on Thursday, 5th Shavval, 710 (February 25th, 1311). Vira Ballāla, who had returned to the capital in time, sought the advice of his commanders and ministers at a time of such dire distress. They unanimously exhorted him to fight rather than to submit. It would be impossible to re-establish the prestige of the kingdom, they argued, after the shock of a humiliating peace. Seeing the Hoysala prince in distress Vira Pandya also sent an army to reinforce Ballāla's forces, but the latter was pessimistic from the very beginning. He fought short skirmishes but refrained from giving a final engagement to the invaders. In the meantime he sent one Gaisu Mal to "find out the strength and the circumstances of the Muslim army." Having come to know that the enemy was a tough fighter and rulers like Ram Chandra and Pratap Rudra had submitted to him, he sued for peace. According to Amīr Khusrau one Balak Deva Nayak accompanied by plenipotentiaries visited the camp of Malik Naib and offered submission to Kāfūr. Malik Kāfūr's terms were clear. "The order of the Caliph (i.e. 'Alā'uddīn) concerning Bilal Deo and all other Rais is this: First I am to place before them the two negatives of the oath of affirmation. May be, their hearts may be illuminated. But if. . . they fail to see the light, I am to offer them the alternative of having the yoke of tribute (*Zimma*) put on their necks. If they reject this also and refuse to pay tribute, then I will simply relieve their necks of the burden of their head."¹⁴ Ballāl Deva accepted the second alternative and promised to send an yearly tribute. Much treasure, which was taken out from the cells for a whole night, and a number of large elephants were presented to the imperial commander.¹⁵ Vira Ballāla came in person to Malik Kāfūr and made his submission.

¹⁴ *Khazain*. Habib Trs. p. 91.

¹⁵ Baranī says that Malik Kāfūr captured 36 elephants and all the treasures of Dwarsamudra.

After the settlement of the peace terms Malik Naib stayed at Dwarsamudra for a week after which he asked Ballāla Deva to lead him on the way towards M'abar, a way with which the royal commander was completely unacquainted. The defeated Hoysala chief had but to agree to what the victorious general said, and prepared to lead Malik Kāfūr towards the destruction of a sister state.¹⁶

Embassy from Persia (1310-11).

At the time when Malik Kāfūr was carrying fire and sword into the south, an embassy from the Ilkhan Sultan Aljaitu Khuda Banda of Persia reached the court of 'Alā'uddīn. The message they brought from their suzerain was that the sultans of Delhi had always been on good terms with the Mughal Khaqans, Chaghtai and Oqtai. But it appeared strange that since the accession of Aljaitu, Sultan 'Alā'uddīn had neither sent any congratulatory message nor any communication to cement old relations of friendship. It was time that the old friendship should be revived.¹⁷

In that message Aljaitu also suggested, in very sweet words, that a daughter of the sultan of India may be given in marriage to the ruling Ilkhan of Persia. 'Alā'uddīn, who by now possessed vast treasures and who had made unprecedented conquests in north and south, considered the marriage proposal of Aljaitu as a deliberate insult to his dignity and imprisoned all the eighteen persons that comprised the embassy. His temper was not soothed simply by imprisoning these people; he later on ordered them to be crushed under the feet of the elephants. By such flagrantly undiplo-

¹⁶ *Futūh* p. 287.

¹⁷ Relations of amity existed between 'Alā'uddīn and Aljaitu's predecessor Ghāzān Khan (1295-1304). In the October probably of 1303 Ghāzān Khan left Tebriz on an elephant, which had been sent as a present by the sultan of Delhi. The sight was a new one to the people of Tebriz. Howorth: *History of the Mongols*, Vol. III p. 479.

matic act, says Vassāf, he threw "the pearl of his good name into the river of Nile."¹⁸

March towards M'abar (1311).

From Dwarsamudra Kāfūr started for M'abar¹⁹ on the 18th Shavvāl 710 (10th March, 1311). According to the author of *Futūḥus Sulātīn* the vanquished Hoysala now accompanied Malik Kāfūr on his expedition into the far south, and guided the path of the imperial general in an unknown country. The land through which the royal army marched was very unpropitious and hilly so much so that "the pointed stones tore the horse's hoofs;" and every night the soldiers slept on ground "more uneven than a camel's back." After five laborious marches they reached the frontier of M'abar. According to 'Iṣāmī a reconnaissance party consisting of great generals like Bahram Kara, Katla Nihang, Maḥmūd Sartiha and Abajī Mughal was attached with the royal forces. Every day one of these five commanders used to go in advance with a few persons who knew the language of that country, and used to bring news to the imperial commander about the affairs in the enemy territory. Suddenly Abajī Mughal thought of deserting the royal army and taking service under the Rai of M'abar. He even thought of killing Malik Kāfūr. He settled with some people that they would take him to the Rai of M'abar and secure for him an

¹⁸ This incident has only been mentioned in *Vaṣṣāf* (p. 528). No Indian historian refers to it. But since it concerns the affairs of Persia, Vassāf should be relied upon. Indian historians may have overlooked such a petty incident while describing the brilliant victories of Malik Kāfūr in the Deccan.

¹⁹ Pandya country was known to the Muhammadans by the name of M'abar. It extended from Quilon to Nellor, nearly 300 *farsangs* along the sea coast.

honourable job there. But as he was marching ahead of the main army his troops came in conflict with a detachment of the M'abar army. Abajī confused and perplexed, hurriedly retreated and joined Kāfūr. When the imperial general came to know of these developments he put Abajī in chains and continued to proceed onward.²⁰

The army marched on, and on crossing the two passes Tarmali²¹ and Tabar (Toppur) they arrived in the city of Mardi, the inhabitants of which place were massacred. Then starting from the river Kanobari they advanced to Birdhul.²² At the approach of the Muslim army the Rai of the place, Vīra Pandya, fled towards Kandur (identified with Kannanur).²³ But he did not feel secure and fled even from there towards the jungles. Malik Kāfūr was all the time chasing the Rai wherever he went. About 20,000 Musalmans of south India, who had fought on the side of the Hindus, now deserted to the imperialists and were

²⁰ When Kāfūr returned to Delhi after his victory in M'abar Abajī Mughal was beleaguered by the orders of the king. *Futūh*, pp. 288-91.

²¹ Elliot has Sarmali; the Allahabad University Ms. has Talmali. It is difficult to identify it now.

²² Prof. Aiyangar thinks it to be the headquarters of Vīra (Bīr) Pandya. Yule (*Ser Marco Polo*, II, p. 319) on the authority of A. Burnell suggests that it is Virdachellam of the maps, which is in south Arcot and about fifty miles north of Tanjore. Abul Feda in *Taqrīm ul Buldān* also calls Birdaval as the capital of the country of M'abar (Alqal Qāshindi pp. 38-9). There are old and well known temples there, and relics of fortifications. It is a rather famous place of pilgrimage. But place names like Birdhul, Jalkota, Sarmali and Kham are corrupt and difficult to identify.

²³ Kannanur lies about 8 miles north of Trichnopoly town and was the Hoysala capital in the Chola country. For a detailed discussion about its identification see Aiyangar: *Invaders* p. 72 and Hodivala p. 257.

spared.²⁴ With the help of these people the army tried to know the whereabouts of the flying king, but severe rains compelled them to fall back upon Birdhul. The chase of the fugitive, however, was not given up and the army restarted from Birdhul in his pursuit. "Torrents of rain fell from above and the army passed through places completely covered with water." Intelligence was brought that the Rai had fled to the city of Kandur. The imperial army dashed towards the town but Vira Pandya had fled even from there. Malik Kāfūr laid hand upon 120 elephants on which he found some treasure also. In fact the real aim of Malik Kāfūr was to destroy his enemy Vira Pandya than to help his friend Sundara. In vain, however, did he massacre the people of Kandur for the Rai had long before fled from that place. It was thought that he had fled towards Jat Kūta.²⁵ Malik Naib marched in that direction but thorny forests forbade any persistent pursuit, and he again returned to Kandur where he searched for more elephants and treasure. Meanwhile they had learnt much about the temples and treasures of the places lying in the vicinity of Kandur. They came to know that at Barmatpuri (Brahmapuri)²⁶ there

²⁴ Describing the first expedition of Devagiri in 1296 Baranī says that before that time the people of the south had never heard of the Musalmans. He says (p. 222).

خلق دیوگیر وقتی از اوقات و از زمان ماضی خبر اسلام
نشیده و هیچ گهی زمین مهت را لشکری نما لیده -

But this is incorrect. The fact that Kāfūr was joined by some Muslim subjects of the Hindu king clearly shows that at Kannanur near Srirangam there was a settlement of Muhammadans. Muhammadans had come to south India as peaceful traders long before they had penetrated into north India as invaders.

²⁵ The Allahabad University Ms. has Jalkota. Prof. Aiyangar suggests that it can mean a water fortress, or an island protected by deep waters round it. *Invaders*, p. 111.

²⁶ See Appendix B.

The royal army marched on. On the 15th of Zilq'ada (April 16th, 1311) they arrived in the city of Kum (Elliot: Kham),³¹ and after some days they reached Madura, where Vira was supposed to live. The Rai along with his family and treasures had fled away from there again and only two or three elephants were left in the temple of Jagnar (rather Sokkanatha).³² Kāfūr's disappointment was terrible and in his impotent rage he set fire to it. By now his patience had been exhausted. He had relentlessly searched the Rai for weeks and months; in towns, in jungles and in hills, but everywhere in vain; and now finding that he had become master of so much wealth and had captured so many elephants, he decided to march back. Before marching homewards he ordered all the spoils to be arranged and classified. His gains consisted of 512 elephants (Baranī has 612), 5000 horses of

pp. 70-73). The temples were reservoirs of effluence and wealth. Hindu Rajas and other rich people presented them with gold and jewels and endowed villages for the maintenance of their establishments. Thus wealth multiplied in a temple without being spent on a large scale. The result was that whenever the Muslims attacked a place they sacked its temples in particular for despoiling them of their wealth. But in the rage of warfare fanaticism was naturally fanned and besides looting the wealth of the temple the invaders destroyed the very edifices and often threw their stones and idols at such places as could be trampled under the feet of the Musalmans.

³¹ Probably Kadambavanam, a city now in ruins but remains of old fortifications exist. The particular locality now a days is called Kadambar Malai and lies about 11 miles from Pudukotta along the Trichnopoly road.

³² Aiyangar (p. 100) contends the interpretation of Elliot that Jagnath is Jagannath or it was a temple dedicated to Jagannath or Vishnu. He says that Jagnar is a corruption of Sokkannath, which is an alternative name of Shiva or Sundresh, the patron diety of the town of Madura. The great temple of Sundeshvara is still a beautiful edifice in the town. See *Khazain*. Trans. Into. p. xxxii.

Hodivala p. 257.

Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. XXIII p. 108.

various breeds like 'Arabī, Yamānī and Syrian³³ (Barānī has 20,000 horses, 96,000 *mans* of gold), and 500 *mans* of jewellery of every description³⁴ With these rewards of his enterprise he broke his camp on Sunday the 4th Zilhijja (April 25th, 1311) to the extreme joy of everybody. They marched towards Delhi on the same rough paths on which they had marched down to the conquest of the south. They arrived in Delhi after an arduous journey of six months. Sultan 'Alā'uddīn accorded a deserving reception to his victorious general and his troops. He held a Durbar in the palace of Hazār Situn in Sīrī on the 4th of Jamādus sāni 711 A.H. (Monday, October 18th, 1311 A.D.)³⁵, where Malik Kāfūr presented before the Sultan all he had brought from the Deccan. Such was the wealth captured in south, says Barānī, that since the capture of Delhi by the Muḥammadans at no time had so much treasure been seized. On such occasions 'Alā'uddīn did not fail to exhibit his generosity. He gave four, two, one and half a *man* gold to his nobles and Amīrs.

³³ *Khazain*. p. 106. *Khusrau* does not exaggerate. Both Vassāf and Marco Polo bear testimony to the fact that from places like Qatif, Lahsa, Bahrīn and Hormuz, a very large number of horses were imported into M'abar. Since the south-erners did not give them proper diet, but dressed gram and milk, they died soon, and new ones were imported (*Vassāf* p. 302). Marco says about M'abar: "Here are no horses bred; and thus a great part of the wealth of the country is wasted in purchasing horses.....merchants of Kis and Hormuz.....and Aden collect great number of destriers and other horses" and bring them to M'abar (Yule: *Ser Marco Polo*, II, p. 324).

The Hindus did not know cross-breeding which had been a secret art of the Arabs. That is why they had always to import good-breed horses.

³⁴ *Khazain*. Habīb Trs. pp. 105-7.

³⁵ *Khazain*, Trs. p, 180 has 14th of Jamādī Sani, which is a slip because 14th was not Monday but Thursday. Elliot's and the Allahabad University Mss. have 4th of Jamad, which is correct.

Ballāla Deva had accompanied Malik Kāfūr to Delhi. The Hoysala prince, after escorting Kāfūr on his march to M'abar and helping in its speedy destruction, had accompanied Kāfūr to Delhi. The sultan was very much pleased with Ballāla's assistance and loyalty. He gave him a special robe of honour, a crown and *chatr* and also presented him with a purse of ten lac of *tankahs*. The Hoysala chief stayed at Delhi for some time and then came back to Dwarsamudra, his territories having been restored by the Sultan.

It is strange indeed that Amīr Khusrāu and Baranī, while describing the scene of the special reception arranged for Malik Naib Kāfūr, do not make mention of Ballāla Deva, who must have been an important figure there. But 'Isāmī describes how Ballāla was received by 'Alāuddīn.³⁶ That this prince also visited Delhi, as the Yadava Ram Chandra had done a couple of years back, is corroborated by an inscription, the translation of which reads: "When the Pratapa—Chakravartti Hoyisana Vīra—Ballāla Devarasa was ruling a peaceful kingdom". . . the Turkish invasion occurred, Ballāla went to Delhi, and on the occasion of his coming back from there (date specified May 6, 1313) "he released the taxes old and new.....etc."³⁷

1296 - 1311 -

The Third Expedition to Devagiri (1313).

Next year (712-13 A.H.; 1312-13 A.D.) Malik Kāfūr was once more appointed to march into the Deccan. Ram Deva, the oldest and most faithful ally of Sultan 'Alāuddīn, had died some time in the year 1312 and was succeeded by his son. Ever since the Muslims had penetrated into the Deccan Singhana had been their avowed enemy. After the humiliating submission of his father in 1296 came another catastrophe, and Deval

³⁶ *Futūh* p. 290.

³⁷ *Epig. Carn.* Vol. VII, Shimoga Taluq, Inscription, no. 68.

Rani, his betrothed, was snatched away from him. This latter event rekindled the flame of animosity in Singhana's heart. So great was his resentment that, if 'Iqāmī is to be believed, even Ram Chandra was compelled to request 'Alāuddīn to help him in controlling Singhana against assuming open hostility to the Delhi government.³⁸ In 1312 or 1313 Singhana succeeded to the throne after the death of his father, and as could well be expected he stopped all connections with the sultanate and began to rule independently.

Mean while Raja Pratap Rudra of Telingana, who had either been too much frightened or was unflinchingly true to his plighted troth, sent a score of elephants and a letter to 'Alāuddīn stating therein that he was prepared to pay the yearly tribute he had promised to whomsoever the emperor appointed for the purpose.³⁹ Malik Naib Kāfūr, who according to Ferishtah, was afraid of, and inimical to, the Malka-i-Jahān and her son Khizr Khan, requested the Sultan to send him to the Deccan to receive the tribute. He also promised to punish the refractory Singhana and clear the Deccan of disaffected elements.⁴⁰ 'Alāuddīn consented to the proposal of Malik Naib and appointed him to govern Devagiri after crushing the insolent Yadava prince.⁴¹

Once again did Malik Kāfūr march into the Deccan crushing right and left any prince who raised his head. First of all he marched to Devagiri and engaged Singhana in a terrible battle. The valiant Maratha, who all his life was opposed to acknowledging the suzerainty of Delhi, could not

³⁸ *Futūh* p. 274.

³⁹ Ferishtah p. 122. Also Baranī (p. 334). 'Khusrau does not mention anything about it because Khazainul Futūh had been completed in 711 and this event came off later.

⁴⁰ *Ferishtah* p. 122.

⁴¹ *Futūh* p. 326.

stand the tempo of the attack and was killed in action. 'Iṣāmī's statement that the prince evacuated Devagiri without giving a battle lends itself to great doubt because Singhana was never heard of again so long as Malik Naib remained in the Deccan. Even after Kāfūr's return to Delhi, Harpal Deva, son-in-law of Ram Deva, and not Singhana is mentioned as the ruler of Devagiri.

Having retaken the Yadava territories Malik Naib attacked a few other cities far and near in the territories of Telingana and Hoysala, and inspired such terror into the hearts of the Deccanics that even the last remnants of opposition to the Delhi government were wiped out. When everybody had submitted Malik Kāfūr returned to Devagiri and fixed his headquarters there, and it was on account of his integrity and strength that the prestige and power of the sultanate were ever felt in Deccan until the death of the Sultan.⁴² Malik Naib sent some years' tribute from Telingana and Carnatic kingdoms to the capital. He remained in the Deccan until about 1315 when 'Alāuddīn, who had fallen seriously ill, called him back to Delhi.⁴³

⁴² An inscription of 'Alāuddīn Khalji has been found in a village called Nalatward in the Muddebihal Taluka of the Bijapur district. It is dated 715 A.H. (1315-16 A.D.) and its language and epithets used for the king are the same as those used at Delhi in contemporary inscriptions. (*Arch. Sur Rep.* 1929-30 p. 190). The inscription is published and translated in the *Epig. Indo-Moslemica* 1927-28 pp. 16-17.

⁴³ Baranī does not mention this expedition to the south, but while describing the events of last days of 'Alāuddīn he says that when the emperor fell seriously ill he called Malik Naib from the Deccan and Alp Khan from Gujarat (p. 368). This proves that in 1314-15 Malik Kāfūr was in the Deccan and must have gone there some time before. 'Iṣāmī, however, writes about the death of Ram Deva, about Singhana's (whom he always calls Bhilam) recalcitrance, and about Malik Naib's going to the Deccan and curbing all the refractory element there including the newly crowned king of Devagiri. (*Futūḥ*

Causes of the success of 'Alāi Expeditions.

The various invasions of Malik Kāfūr, for the time being, destroyed peaceful conditions in the Deccan peninsula. All the prominent kingdoms of the south—the Yadava, the Kākātiya, the Hoysala and the Pandya—succumbed to his terrible onslaughts. Incalculable wealth was carried off to the north and places and shrines venerated by the Hindus for centuries were desecrated, looted and razed to the ground. Perhaps nowhere during his march did Kāfūr meet a really tough resistance.

The causes of the success of the royal army in the Deccan are not far to seek. The southern kingdoms of Devagiri, Telingana, Hoysala and the Pandya, like the Rajput states of the north, were constantly fighting against one another.⁴⁴ When 'Alāuddīn had marched to Devagiri in 1296, Singhana Deva had gone towards the Hoysala frontiers with his forces; when Kāfūr marched against the Hoysala country, its king Ballāla Deva was absent in farther south trying to snatch a portion of the Pandya country; and the two princes Sundra Pandya and Vira Pandya were constantly fighting with each other. Not only that, in place of uniting and helping one another in face of a foreign foe they assisted the invaders against their own neighbours. Thus Ram Chandra helped Mālik Kāfūr in the conquest of Telingana and Vira Ballāla escorted the imperial army farther south in M'abar. Sundara Pandya even begged Malik

pp. 325-28). He also says that the sultan called his favourite general back to Delhi in connection with prince Shadi Khan's marriage with the daughter of Alp Khan, an event of the last days of 'Alāuddīn's reign.

⁴⁴ See also *A'ijāz-i-Khusravī* Vol. I p. 18, and Vol. II p. 175.

Kāfūr's assistance against his step-brother and proved to be a source of untold misery to his own countrymen.⁴⁵

The defeat of the southern princes was not wholly due to their disunity. The army of 'Alāuddīn, on account of his various military reforms, was efficient, well-equipped and organised. The sultan, moreover, had particularly instructed Malik Naib to be generous and considerate to his men in a far off and unfamiliar land. The Turk was a tough fighter and in him were combined zeal for religion and greed for plunder. In discipline, strategy, and tactics the northerners were far superior to the southern armies. Even in physical prowess the soldiers of the south could not be a match to those of the north. Marco Polo bears testimony to the poor quality of the soldiers of south India in the 12th and 13th centuries. "The people of the country", says he "go to the battle all naked, with only a lance and a shield, and are most wretched soldiers" The traveller continues to say that they were mostly vegetarians, ate rice and were very orthodox people. They were more particular about regular baths and untouchability than about fighting.⁴⁶ This may be said to be a very harsh estimate of the soldiers of the south, yet there is no doubt that they could not successfully fight the armies who used to put the Mongols to flight.⁴⁷ Moreover 'Alāuddīn never meant to annex the far-off land beyond the Vindhya. For him his southern expeditions were financial ventures. His mobile forces swooped down upon the southern kingdoms, denuded them of their wealth and then came back triumphantly.

⁴⁵ There is one happy instance in this dark picture where the Pandya prince Vira sent a detachment to reinforce the army of Ballāla Deva, when the latter was fighting Malik Kāfūr.

⁴⁶ Yule: *Ser Marco Polo*, II, pp. 326-27.

⁴⁷ *Futūḥ* p. 275.

Nature of Deccan Conquest.

By an irony of circumstance Deccan has proved an effective stepping stone for many a general and prince. 'Alā-uddīn, Mahābat Khan, Shahjahān and Aurangzeb all began their careers in the Deccan. Similarly Kāfūr's campaigns in the south have immortalized his name in the history of the Sultanate period. Vassāf does not exaggerate when he says that the brilliant achievements of Kāfūr in the Deccan eclipsed the victories of Mahmūd of Ghazna in Hindustan.⁴⁸ Really speaking the motives behind the campaigns of Kāfūr in the south were the same as those of Mahmūd in the north. It was the fabulous wealth of the Deccan, above everything else, that prompted him to invade the kingdoms beyond the Vindhya; and in securing the treasures of Warangal Malik Naib took possession of all possible wealth — "Everything that the Rai's country possessed..... even the last nail in the fort".

When all the wealth which could possibly be obtained in the Deccan was captured, there was no use annexing the kingdoms to, and inviting fresh troubles for, the Sultanate of Delhi. The constant and repeated wars in Rajputana had brought home to 'Alāuddīn the disadvantages of an annexationist policy. He was not prepared to repeat his mistakes of Rajputana in the Deccan. Moreover, the conquest of the south was never complete. No doubt the wealth of Devagiri, Warangal, Dwarsamudra and M'abar was looted or obtained through terms of treaties, yet neither Singhana, nor Pratap Rudra Deva accepted complete defeat. Singhana made constant efforts to regain independence and there is great doubt if the fort of Warangal ever capitulated. The Hoyasala prince no doubt was completely defeated and he surrendered all wealth to save his sacred thread (*zunnār*), but Vīra Pandya ever avoided a pitched battle with Kāfūr, who only

⁴⁸ *Vaṣṣāf* p. 527.

ravaged Pandya country without being able to defeat its king. In these circumstances the annexation of these kingdoms would have proved a liability to the Delhi sultanate. Moreover the difficulties of Muḥammad Tughlaq clearly show that it was not at all safe to annex the Deccan. But even without annexation 'Alāuddīn's ambition was fulfilled. Great kings like Ram Chandra and Ballāla Deva came to Delhi, they paid their respects personally to the sovereign, their treasures were taken away. The glory of the empire was enhanced and the treasury of the state was filled with the wealth of the Deccan.

Malik Kāfūr's success in the Deccan was short lived. The third invasion of the Yadava kingdom by Malik Naib, his raids into many towns of other kingdoms like Telingana and Carnatic, and his fixing his headquarters at Devagiri clearly show that as soon as the victorious armies of the north used to turn their backs upon the vanquished kingdoms of the south, the latter used to assume an attitude of indifference if not of open hostility towards the sultanate of Delhi. The result was that when Malik Kāfūr was called to Delhi towards the close of 'Alāuddīn's reign, Deccan was again seething with disaffection and it was left to Mubarak Khalji and Muḥammad Tughlaq to reconquer south India once again.

Extent of 'Alāuddīn's Empire.

It would be proper to conclude this chapter with a survey of 'Alāuddīn's empire. On the north-west, river Indus may roughly be taken as the boundary line of the Indian empire. Beyond the Indus the land was constantly disputed between the Mongols and the Indians.⁴⁹ Deopulpur was in the charge of Ghazi Malik, Multan and Sivistan were first under Zafar Khan and later under Malik Kāfūr. In northern India the whole tract of land now comprised of the Punjab, Sindh and the United Provinces was under the direct control of the Central government. The various states of Rajputana could

⁴⁹ Vide Chapter XI.

never be completely conquered and may conveniently be classified under tributary kingdoms.⁵⁰ On the east Turkish empire does not seem to have extended beyond Benares and Jaunpur (Sarju). Bihar and Bengal were ruled by Harasimha and Shamsuddin Firoz respectively, both independent of the Sultanate of Delhi.⁵¹ The portions now comprising of Orissa and the Eastern States Agency were not visited by any Muslim army of 'Alāuddīn or of his predecessors. Most of Central India with important places like Chanderi, Ellichpur, Dharnagri, Ujjain and Mandu were under direct control of governors appointed by the central government. Gujarat was a province of the empire and was ably governed by Alp Khan till the last years of 'Alāuddīn.⁵² Yadava, Hoysala, and Kākatiya kingdoms were tributaries. They were not occupied by Muslim governors, with the partial exception of Devagiri where Kāfūr established his headquarters for some time. Beyond Dwarsamudra Malik Kāfūr carried on predatory raids but the Pāndya princes never acknowledged Muslim suzerainty and never paid any tribute.⁵³

⁵⁰ Vide Chapter X. Barani (p. 323) says that some provinces like Ranthambhor, Chittor, Mandalkher (Mandalgarh in Chittor) and Jalor came under the control of provincial governors and *iqta'dārs* (obviously both Hindu and Muslim).

دتهنبور و جیتور و مندل کھیرو دھار اوجین و ماندو کھر
و علائپور - و چندیری و ایرج - و سوانہ - و حالور - کہ از بلاد
مضبوط خارج بودند در ضبط ولات و مقطعان در آمد -

⁵¹ Vide Chapter VII.

⁵² Vide Chapter XVIII.

⁵³ Vide Chapter XIII.

CHAPTER XIV

ADMINISTRATION

In the Sultanate of Delhi the Sultan was the apex of the administrative machinery. He was the commander-in-chief of royal forces and was the supreme judicial and executive authority. He was the leader of his co-religionists (Amīrul Mauminīn). The character of government was autocratic.

According to most of the jurists and historians the Imām or Khalifā was the head of the Muslims. He was the defender and maintainer of the faith, "the protector of the territory of Islam, the supreme judge of the state, and the chief organiser and administrator of the commonwealth".¹ Since the Caliph was the head of the Muslim state his authority was acknowledged in far-off lands ruled by Muslim monarchs. The early Sultans of Delhi, like Iltutmish, professed to derive their position, privileges, and status from him. Such was the awe and reverence associated with the name of Khalifā that the name of Al Musta'sim Billah continued to be inscribed on the coins of Jalāluddīn Khaljī till the year 1296, although the above named Khalifa had been murdered by the Mughals in 1258.²

The sultan of Delhi, working upon the model of the Abbasid Caliphs, attempted to propagate and protect the true

¹ *Ahkāmūs Sultaniyāh*, pp. 3 and 16. Cited in Qureshi: *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 23.

Huges: *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 622.

Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. IV p. 543-44.

² Khalīl bin Shahīn uz Zahīrī, a writer of the 15th century, says that no king of the east or the west can hold the title of sultan unless there be a covenant between him and the 'Khalifā. Arnold: *Caliphate* p. 101-102.

religion by conquest, by an efficient system of administration, and by extension of justice to high and low. Thus in theory, the powers of the sultan of Delhi were very extensive indeed. For his actions he was responsible only to God, whose viceregent on earth he supposed himself to be. The duty of his subjects was to obey him, and to suffer, if need be, without remonstrance. "Under such circumstances, the sultan of Delhi was in theory an unlimited despot, bound by no law, subject to no material check, and guided by no will except his own. The people had no rights only obligations; they only lived to carry out his commands."³

In practice, however, the position of the Muslim sultan of Delhi was full of difficulties. He had to rule over an alien people different from his co-religionists in faith as well as social and political outlooks. Consequently in his desire to propagate Islam he could not altogether ignore the beliefs and sentiments of non-Muslims, if he aimed at the establishment of a stable government. An incessant *Jihād* against the non-believers was not possible in this country. It is true that during the process of conquest atrocities were committed, but in times of war suffering is inevitable. With the establishment of peace and order no organised persecution of Hindus was possible. As early as Muhammad bin Qāsim's campaign in Sindh it was thought politic by the leader of a few thousand Arabs to refrain from persecuting the Hindus in the name of a holy war and thus arousing swarms of them against him.⁴ Political exigencies demanded religious toleration. Internal revolts, the indefinite law of succession, the existence of various independent kingdoms all over the country, and the recurring Mughal invasions from the north-west, demanded the presence of a practi-

³ Ashraf: *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan* p. 129. Also see Bashir Ahmad: *Administration of Justice in Medieval India*.

⁴ *Camb. Hist. of India*, Vol. III, p. 4.

cal king rather than a vacillating or bigoted monarch. It is because of these considerations that strong rulers like Iltutmish, Balban, 'Alāuddīn and Muḥammad bin Tughlaq never put religion above politics. Moreover, the 'Ulamā' also acted according to the wishes of the reigning king. If the throne was occupied by a bigot they advocated intolerance, otherwise they meekly subordinated their opinions to those of the strong monarchs like 'Alāuddīn and Muḥammad bin Tughlaq.

Contemporary opinion also spoke in favour of the autocratic position of a medieval monarch in general and of 'Alāuddīn in particular. Amīr Khusrau and Ziyāuddīn Baranī considered the sultan as the naib or the Khalifā of God.⁵ He was Zib'illāh or the shadow of God on earth. In Khazāinul Futūḥ Amīr Khusrau gives the sultan titles like "the sultan of the world", "the sultan of the monarchs of the earth", "the conqueror of the age" and the "shepherd of the people". These phrases, in spite of their being exaggerated epithets allude to the prevalent conception that the king was the state and that it was an age of royal absolutism. 'Alāuddīn like Louis XIV of France regarded himself to be all in all in the state, *L'état c'est moi*. According to Ziyāuddīn Baranī a king was to be severe or kind as the emergency required.⁶ He was to establish the true religion, distribute impartial justice and see that not a single person in his kingdom remained unfed and unclothed.⁷

'Alāuddīn struck a new note in the conception of medieval kingship. Under him the temporal power eclipsed the ecclesiastical. His discussions with (Qāzī) Mughīṣ on the one hand clearly show the impracticability of following the advice

⁵ *Deval Ranī* pp. 17-18. Baranī p. 168.

⁶ Baranī pp. 35, 168.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 147.

of the bigoted 'Ulama in matters of state politics, and on the other the attitude of a medieval despot. "I know not". emphasised the king, "whether these laws are sanctioned by our faith or not, but whatever I conceive to be for the good of the state, that I decree".⁸ 'Alāuddīn thought that religion had nothing to do with politics. The business of the king was to administer the state while *Shara'* was the concern of the Qāzīs and Muftīs.⁹ In direct contrast to his predecessor Jalāluddīn and his successor Qutbuddīn, 'Alāuddīn possessed all the qualities that go to make a successful despot. He possessed an iron will to enforce his commands; he made the nobility and the clergy submit to his wishes, and refused to tolerate laxity in matters of administration. He concentrated all authority in his hands and personally supervised every department of the government. He was the Commander-in-Chief of his army and personally led expeditions to kingdoms far and near, although he also sent expeditions under his able generals. He was the highest court of appeal, and through his judiciary and espionage, tried his best to administer impartial justice.

The Nobility.

The nobility were the props on which the king's authority rested. The nobles were drawn from many races—Turks, Pathans, Indians and Persians. Some of them like Aibak, Iltutmish and Balban rose from the lowest rung. They started as slaves and achieved to eminence and even secured the throne, just through personal merit. Thus, theoretically, there was no limit to the acquisition of the highest position by a nobleman. Consequently all through the Turkish period a struggle for possession of real power continued to rage be-

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 295-96.

⁹ Baranī p. 289.

tween the king and his barons. In fact the sultans of India could not evolve a governmental machinery to which the nobles could adapt themselves or under which they could feel secure. If the sultans were suspicious of the nobles' strength, the nobility were also in constant dread of the sultans, on whose goodwill depended their prestige, their honour and even their life. Under weak rulers like Jalāluddīn and Qutbuddīn Khaljī the nobles dominated the government while under strong monarchs like Balban and 'Alāuddīn they were dominated by the king. Under strong rulers the nobles were a source of strength to the king, but during the reign of weaklings they became a real danger to the sovereign and the state.

Under Iltutmish the nobles had acquired great strength. His "Corps of Forty" (*Chahalgānī*) counted for much in state affairs. In fact the Turkish aristocracy had even put the crown into commission and Balban became apprehensive of their strength. He tried to crush them, but his success was only partial. With Jalāluddīn's advent to power the nobles regained their slightly impaired power, firstly, because Jalāluddīn tried to win their support during the Khaljī revolution, and secondly, because the king was by nature extremely kind. Even so, he indicted his nobles very severely. "Except holding drink parties, seeking pleasure in women and wine, except gambling and dicing, and except plotting against the king," said the disgusted sultan, "the nobles had no other business."¹⁰

But 'Alāuddīn's approach to the problem of nobility was different from that of his uncle's. The mutiny of troops near Jalor in 1299 and the revolts of Ikat Khān, 'Umar Khan and Mangu Khan, and the insurrection of Hājī Maula at Delhi in 1300 and 1301, coming one after another as they did in quick succession, very much alarmed the sultan. Even while his

¹⁰ Baranī pp. 191-93.

attention was wholly engrossed with the siege of Ranthambhor, he discussed with his trustworthy nobles like Malik Ḥamīduddīn, Malik A'izzuddīn, son of 'Alā Dabīr, Malik 'Ainul Mulk Multānī and other wise and experienced ones the causes of the political upheavals. After several days' deliberations it was unanimously concluded that there were four basic causes for the unhappy state of affairs. Firstly, the sultan neglected his people, and did not care to know whether they were prosperous or otherwise.¹¹ Secondly, the unrestricted use of wine encouraged people to hold drink-parties in which they invited their boon companions. It was at such entertainment that conspiracies against the state were hatched. Thirdly, free intercourse and association of barons, their matrimonial and other connections brought them so close to one another that if any one of them was in difficulty, "a hundred others on account of their connection, relationship and attachment to him became his confederates." And lastly, wealth made people contumacious and disloyal, haughty and proud.

On his return from Ranthambhor in 1301 not only did 'Alāuddīn put down the rebels, he made up his mind to destroy the very bases of such revolts. Ilbaris had interested themselves in Hājī Maula's insurrection, the Mongol nobility had never reconciled to the Khalji government. The sultan decided that the best way to clip the wings of the refractory element was to impoverish it. The reclamation of crown lands, the enhancement of revenue, and other fiscal measures, which will be described shortly, affected the nobility to a very large extent. The barons were ordered to

¹¹ Ibid. p. 282.

The sultan until then had been intent on wars and conquests and had hardly turned his attention towards improving administration.

refrain from visiting one another or holding convivial parties. Further, they were prohibited from contracting matrimonial alliances without the previous permission of the crown. These orders were strictly enforced. In fact 'Alāuddīn reduced the noblemen to the status of slaves and imposed upon them all the three conditions of slavery, viz., the sultan was to inherit the noble, no marriage could be arranged without the sultan's permission, and the sons of noblemen became slaves of the king in their turn. The Maliks and Amīrs, on account of the fear of the intelligence service, behaved most cautiously and carefully. Even when they congregated in the royal palace they dared not speak to one another, and expressed themselves through gestures.

The narrative of the contemporary chronicler may be exaggerated. Even so there is no doubt that the noblemen in the time of 'Alāuddīn were not allowed to raise their head. Their suppression facilitated the work of administration. So long as 'Alāuddīn enjoyed sound health, his argus eye and iron hand steered the course of the state well. But the moment his health began to decline trouble brewed up on all sides. A weakened order of nobility could neither check the atrocities of Kāfūr, nor could it impart dignity nor stamina to administration, and a tragic collapse began to loom large on the political horizon.

Officers of the State

After the sultan the head of the administration was the Vazīr. On the civil side the Vazīr was responsible to the king about the administration of the provincial governments. He was directly incharge of the Finance department. He appointed 'āmils for the different parts of the empire to collect revenue and deposit it into the royal exchequer. On the military side the Vazīr commanded the imperial forces and led expeditions into different kingdoms.

On his accession 'Alāuddīn appointed Khvājā Khaṭīr to the office of Vazīr. Khvājā Khaṭīr was a man of experience and wisdom and had served under Balban and Jalāl-uddīn. A great civil administrator, he was, however, not a militarist. Failing to come up to the expectations of his master, who was building a military state, he was superseded by Nuṣrat Khan in 1297. Nuṣrat was a great military leader. He led successful expedition to Gujarat and died fighting at Ranthambhor. He was also well known for his monetary extortions from the people. Another Vazīr mentioned by Ferishtah is Saiyyad Khan, "the notorious," about whom not much is known. It is difficult to say as to when Malik Tājuddīn Kāfūr *Hazārdīnārī* was appointed *naib* of the sultan. He was more a Vazīr of the king than of the state.¹² His only qualifications were that he was a great military leader as also a favourite of the sultan. Thus in 'Alāuddīn's time Vizarat was conferred on military leaders and this is not surprising because 'Alāuddīn had to fight the Mughals and at the same time conquer new lands.

Beside the Vazīr the other principal officers of the state were Qāzī-ul Quṣāt or Lord chief justice, Mīr 'Arz or Lord of petitions and the Mīr Dād, an officer whose duty was to present before the Qāzī any big officer or noble against whom a complaint had been instituted. On the financial side, next to the Vazīr were the Dīvān-i-Ashraf or the Accountant General, and the Mustaufī or the Auditor General of imperial Finances. They were responsible to the Vazīr for state finances and kept an account of all the items of income and expenditure. The chief officers on the military side were the 'Ariz-i-Mumalik or Minister of war and the Bakhshi-i-Fauj or paymaster of the forces. The Amīr-i-Kohī was the Director of Agriculture, and Malik Ḥamīduddīn

¹² Tripathi: *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 180.

held this office under 'Alāuddīn. But there was no line of demarcation between the civil and military services and an officer of the civil side was given charge of military expeditions and vice versa.¹³

Provincial Administration.

Before making a study of the system of administration at the centre it may be mentioned that the administration in the various provinces was a replica of that of the central government. The empire was parcelled out into a number of provinces each of which was put under the charge of a governor. According to Ziya Baranī there were eleven provinces besides the territories of the central government.

1. Gujarat under Alp Khan.
2. Multan and Sivistan (Sehvan) under Tājul Mulk Kāfūr.
3. Deopulpur under Ghazī Tughlaq.
4. Samanah and Sunnam under Akhurbeg Tātak.
5. Dhar and Ujjain under 'Ainul Mulk Multānī.
6. Jhain under Fakhru'l Mulk Maisarti.
7. Chittor under Malik Abu Muhammad.
8. Chanderi and Iraj under Malik Tamar.
9. Badaon, Koelah and Kark (?) under Malik Dīnār.
10. Avadh under Malik Buktan (?)
11. Kara under Malik Naṣīruddin Sautelah.¹⁴

We have already discussed the extent of the authority of the central government over these provinces. The governor of a province was a sort of a king in miniature. As was the king at Delhi, the provincial governor was the chief executive and judicial head of the province. Each

¹³ For a detailed list of junior and senior officials in revenue and other departments see *Qarauna Turks* Vol. I p. 260-66.

¹⁴ Baranī p. 323.

governor had his own provincial force and was required to send a fixed quota of troops whenever required to do so.¹⁵ The governor held court, administered justice, and looked after other spheres of administration. He collected the land revenue of the province and after deducting the amount assigned to him, he sent the surplus to the imperial exchequer. Under weak kings the provincial governors behaved almost as independent rulers but under strong monarchs like Balban and 'Alā'uddīn they dared not assume a contumacious attitude with impunity. That veteran generals like Ghazī Malik, Malik Kāfūr and Alp Khan loyally served the government for so long, is a proof of the strength and vigilance of 'Alā'uddīn. It was only when the emperor was dying and the grip of the central government was becoming lax that trouble arose in some provinces of the empire.

Administration of Justice.

"According to the ancient political ideal, which both the Hindus and the Muhammadans accepted, the Sovereign is the fountain of justice, and it is his duty to try cases personally in open court."¹⁶ The sultans of India like Iltutmish, Balban, 'Alā'uddīn and Muhammad Tughlaq followed this ideal and personally administered justice in open court. The sultan himself constituted the chief court of appeal and everybody had access to him to demand and obtain justice. Iltutmish is said to have hung a chain of justice¹⁷ for people who sought redress and his reign was noted for jurists well

¹⁵ E.g. in 1299 during the conquest of Gujarat Ulugh Khan was ordered to join in the conquest of Jaisalmer. During the invasion of Targhī provincial governors were called to defend the imperial capital. Alp Khan was ordered to march to assist Naib Kāfūr in the latter's expedition to Devagiri in 1308.

¹⁶ J. N. Sarkar: *The Mughal Administration*, p. 106.

¹⁷ Ibn Battūṭah, Lee, p. 112 Cf. *Elliot*, III p. 591.

versed in law.¹⁸ Zīyāuddin Baranī praises sultan Ghayās-uddīn Balban for his love of justice and says that he never showed any partiality towards any of his subjects even if they were his own kith and kin. 'Alāuddīn was as relentless and unflinching in administering justice as Balban. Unfortunately no traveller like Ibn Battūṭah visited his court, and the contemporary historians do not describe the manner in which the sultan administered justice in open court.

Next to the sultan, the head of the judicial department was Sadr-i-Jahān Qāzīul Quzāt or the Lord Chief Justice of the empire. Under the Qāzīul Quzāt served naib Qāzīs or 'Adls and they were assisted by Muftīs who expounded the law and gave opinion on complicated cases. There was another officer Dādbeg-i-Hazrat¹⁹ whose office corresponded to the office of Mīr 'Adl of the Mughals. He was a judge of the capital (Hazrat) as distinct from judge of the camp (Qazī-i-Lashkar).²⁰ There was also Mīr Dād whose duty it was to produce before the court any influential person against whom a suit had been filed, but who was too powerful to be controlled by the Qāzī.²¹ A similar system of gradations of judicial officers obtained in the provinces where the governor, the Qazīs and other junior officers administered justice. In smaller towns and villages, however, the headmen and the *panchayats* used to settle disputes and decide cases.

Besides these judicial officials, princes, Vazīrs, commanders of armies and other high officers of the state decided cases which did not involve expert knowledge of the

¹⁸ Baranī p. 111. See also Wahed Husain: *Administration of Justice during the Muslim Rule in India*. p. 22.

¹⁹ Malik Fakhruddīn Kūchī was appointed to this office in the first year of 'Alāuddīn's reign. Baranī p. 248.

²⁰ Footnote by Major Fuller in his translation of Baranī's *Tarikh*. *J.A.S.B.* 1870 p. 187.

²¹ *History of Qarauna Turks*, I, p. 269.

law. Thus cases regarding land revenue were heard by the governor or his Finance minister, the *Dīvān*, and such cases did not fall under the jurisdiction of the *Qāzīs*.²² Justice was administered quickly and promptly without any circumlocutory proceedings. There were no pleaders or lawyers in those days and the judges mostly worked upon the doctrine of *Qayās* or private judgement after considering the statements of the witnesses.

In the early years of Sultan 'Alāuddīn's reign Sadr Jahān Sadruddīn was appointed the *Qāzī-i-Mumālīk* or the Chief Justice. Although he was not very much renowned for his learning, his experience was so wide and his judgement so keen that none dared to resort to cunning or falsehood in his presence.²³ After him *Qāzī Jalāluddīn Balvachi* was appointed naib *Qāzī*, while Maulana *Ẓiyāuddīn* of Bayana, who was the *Qāzī-i-Lashkar*, was appointed to the office of Sadr Jahān. *Qāzī Ẓiyāuddīn*, in spite of his erudition, did not possess the dignity required of the chief judge of the capital. But the last *Qāzī*, Maulana *Ḥamīduddīn Multānī*, whom 'Alāuddīn appointed in the closing days of his reign, was altogether worthless. Baranī remarks that the judgeship of Delhi, the capital city, which was a very responsible office to be entrusted only to a learned and capable person, was given to a "servant" of the sultan's household.²⁴ The king appointed *Ḥamīduddīn* in consideration of his past services, unmindful of the fact that such a post should be given only to a man who was incorruptible, and who possessed qualities of simplicity and renunciation. Naturally with *Ḥamīduddīn* at its head the judiciary lost its lustre and prestige. Prominent among the provincial

²² Bashīr Ahmad: *Administration of Justice in Medieval India* p. 117.

²³ Baranī p. 351.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 352.

Qāzīs were Saiyyad Tājuddīn of Badaon and his nephew Saiyyad Ruknuddīn of Kara. Baranī, who knew both of them personally, praises them for their inspiring personality, their dignified bearing and their other excellent qualities.

The Qāzīs were treated with great respect and consideration, and they could punish even the most powerful officers of the empire. Baranī lays great emphasis on the purity of character as an indispensable qualification for a judge. Not only learning but fear of God and abstinence from all evil things were essential qualities in a Qāzī.²⁵ Sultan 'Alāuddīn was very particular about seeing his high judicial officers behave well even in their private life. He did not hesitate to sentence to death a Qāzī who had taken to drinking.²⁶ The police and intelligence service were so efficient that offending judicial officials could not escape punishment. It may be noted in this connection that in spite of the great respect in which the Qāzīs were held, theologians in general did not wield too much power. They were allowed to decide judicial cases only and arbitrate purely on religious matters, while the real power in all other matters was vested in the sultan. The Qāzīs themselves did not maintain a very high standard of character and efficiency. Amīr Khusrau and Ziyāuddīn Baranī, both have to say much against them. In *Mutla-i-Anvār* Khusrau observes that the Qāzīs were quite ignorant of the principles of law, while Ziyāuddīn, repentent in his old age, confesses that theologians, a class to which he himself belonged, used to stretch the meaning of the Quranic texts to carry out the wishes of the sultans.²⁷ Even so, the testimony of Maulana Shamsuddin Turk, a theologian who hailed from Egypt, seems to be too harsh an indictment on the theologians of the day. The Maulana learnt that "ill-

²⁵ Ibid. p. 352.

²⁶ Badaonī, Ranking, I, p. 187.

²⁷ Baranī p. 446.

fated wiseacres of black faces" sat in mosques with abominable law books and made money by cheating both the accuser and the accused, and the Qāzīs of the capital did not bring all these facts to the notice of the king."²⁸ It appears that the Maulana wrote all this to 'Alāuddīn only to cast aspersions on the character of Qāzī Hamīduddīn of Multan to whom he was deadly opposed and about whom Baranī also holds a very low opinion.²⁹ But as the Sultan was not negligent in administering justice to people, it is obvious that the judiciary was in a fairly good condition.

Punishments.

The punishments inflicted by 'Alāuddīn as also by other sultans of the age were barbarous. Neither the dignity of high office nor piety nor wealth could save a man from the clutches of law. Even a *shahnāh* of the position of Malik Qabūl Ulugh Khānī, who possessed lands and cavalry, once received twenty stripes for suggesting to the sultan to raise the price of grain by half a *jītāl*. Flogging was very common, and on one occasion a man received one thousand stripes.³⁰ Decapitation, mutilation of limbs and putting an offender into fetters, were common forms of punishment. Ferishtah gives a graphic picture of the horrible punishments of the times of Fīroz Tughlaq. "It has been usual," says he "...to spill Muhammadan blood on trivial occasions, and for small crimes, to mutilate and torture them by cutting off the hands and feet, and noses and ears, by putting out eyes, by pulverising the bones of the living criminals

²⁸ Ibid. p. 299.

²⁹ From the fact that Maulana Shamsuddīn Turk mentions the name of Qāzī Hamīduddīn it follows that the former came to India in the later part of 'Alāuddīn's reign, because according to Baranī Hamīduddīn was appointed Qāzī of the realm in the last years of 'Alāuddīn.

³⁰ *Favā'idul Favād* Iko. Text pp. 53-4.

with mallets, by burning the body with fire, by crucifixion and by nailing the hands and feet, by flaying alive, by the operation of ham-strings, and by cutting human beings to pieces.”³¹ Tortures were inflicted for extorting confession. ‘Alā’uddin was extremely severe in punishing the guilty; and for offences like smuggling wine into the city or drinking in public the offenders were imprisoned in abominable “wells” dug for that purpose. So horrible were these prisons that many people died in them and those who escaped alive were completely shattered in health. There were no regular jails and prisoners were incarcerated in some old forts. Brokers in horse trade, found guilty of contravening the sultan’s orders, were banished to distant fortresses.³² Amīr Khurd, the author of *Sairul Auliā*, describes the abominable conditions prevailing in such jails. He says that once his father Saiyyad Kamāl was imprisoned by sultan Muḥammad bin Tughlaq in Bhaksi jail, near Devagiri. It was reported about that place, says he, that no prisoner used to come out alive from it as it was full of rats and snakes.³³ The fraudulent shopkeepers who were found guilty of giving short weight were forced to make up the deficiency from flesh chopped from their bodies. Stoning to death for adultery, hanging of the body of the dead for days together on spear head, and parading it into the city were of common occurrence.

Police and Secret Intelligence.

An efficient police and intelligence system is the inevitable concomitant of effective administration. The sultan organised the police department on a very efficient basis. The kotwāl was the most important officer of the police. His powers were extensive and his post very res-

³¹ Briggs’ *Ferishtah*, Vol. I, pp. 462-63.

³² Baranī p. 313.

³³ *Sairul Auliā*, Trans. p. 190.

possible. He was justice of peace and custodian of law and order. He advised the sultan on important issues, and was entrusted with the protection of the *haram* in the absence of the sultan from the capital.³⁴ Under Balban and 'Alā'uddīn the kotvāls wielded great influence with the king. Malik Fakhruddīn, the veteran kotvāl of Delhi, used to tender advice to Balban on important matters. Nusrat Khan the first Kotvāl of 'Alā'uddīn was very much feared by the people. After him Malik 'Alāulmulk was given the post of kotvāl. 'Alāulmulk's candid talks with the king clearly indicate that the status of the kotvāl was very high.

'Alā'uddīn reformed the police department, created some new posts, and appointed efficient men to them. The post of Divān-i-Riyāsāt was created to maintain strict control over the trades-people. The *Shahnāh* or the magistrate of the Market was also an officer of the same sort. Another officer, Muhtasib, has been mentioned by most of the contemporary writers. He was the chief custodian of public morals and he enquired into the conduct of the people. Besides this he also controlled the market and examined weights and measures. Thus the control of the police was comprehensive and complete.

But if the police made the people correct in their behaviour the rigorous spy system scared them immensely. The appointment of secret agent was not a novel step, firstly, because a secret service is the very basis of despotic government, and secondly, because the predecessors of 'Alā'uddīn had all resorted to espionage. Mahmūd of Ghaznā had a very efficient intelligence service in the Divān-i-Shughl-i-Ishrāf-i-Mamlukāt, in which persons of both sexes served as spies.³⁵ Ghayās-

³⁴ As 'Alāulmulk was given the charge of the *haram* at the time of Qutlugh Khwājā's invasion.

³⁵ Nazim: *Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazna* p. 144.

uddīn Balban also had a very efficient intelligence department so that even the movements of his own son, Bughra Khan, were regularly communicated to him. 'Alāuddīn, however, seems to have organised espionage to great perfection. He appointed a number of informers known in the official language as *munhīs*. They were of different grades and kept the Sultan informed about the most trivial matters relating to persons high and low. The *munhīs* could even enter the houses of the people and trouble them for slight offences.³⁶ Ziyā-uddīn Baranī bears witness to the rigour with which the intelligence department worked. "No one could stir without his ('Alāuddīn's) knowledge, and whatever happened in the houses of the Malik and Amīrs, officers and great men, was communicated to the Sultan in course of time The fear of spies led barons to cease speaking anything aloud in the Hazār Sitūn, and if they had to say anything they said through gestures. Day and night did they tremble in their own houses on account of the activity of the patrol. Nor did they do anything nor utter a single word which could subject them to reproof or punishment."³⁷

Thus the Secret service department became a terror to the people and the activities of the *munhīs* aroused feeling of fear and hatred. The nobles, the traders and the common people, all stood in dread of the king's reporters. 'Alā-uddīn's market control was successful because of the strict vigilance of this department.

Postal System.

The administration of the Sultanate was greatly facilitated by an efficient postal service which connected different parts of the empire. A detailed account of the postal system prevailing in the time of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq has been given by Ibn Battūṭah and the author of *Masālikul Absār*.

³⁶ E.g. Baranī p. 286.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 284

Yahya, the author of *Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, also refers to it. From the writings of Battūṭah and Baranī it appears that the postal organisation had much improved in the reign of Muḥammad Tughlaq as compared with that of 'Alāuddīn.³⁸ Ziyāuddīn writes that whenever the king sent an expedition to some place he established posts between the capital and the destination of the army. From Tilpat which was the first stage from Delhi, horsemen were stationed at a distance of half or three-quarters of a *kos* and at every post officers and clerks were appointed. These officials sent reports to the king every-day or every third day as they received news from the marching or besieging army. At times, due to varying circumstances, the postal service was greatly disturbed and once when Malik Naib Kāfur was engaged in reducing the fort of Warangal, 'Alāuddīn could not receive any news about the army for more than forty days.

Baranī does not make mention of *dava* or *dhava* (footmen) and *aulāq* (horsemen) appointed on various posts, about whom Battūṭah speaks in detail, but his silence does not mean that such postmen did not exist in 'Alāuddīn's days. Describing the regulations about prohibition of drinking, Baranī states that spies as well as *barīds*,³⁹ posted at the gates of the city and near about, kept a strict watch over smugglers.⁴⁰ It was on account of the efficient working of the posts that 'Alāuddīn could be informed of Hāji Maulā's revolt just on the third day of its occurrence.⁴¹ Another reference

³⁸ The postal service of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq is too well known to be repeated here. For its details see *Ibn Battūṭah*, Vol. III, pp. 95-6., *Masālikul Absār*, Elliot, III, p. 581.

³⁹ *Barīd* is an Arabic word and means messenger or runner.

⁴⁰ Baranī, p. 285.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 278.

to the efficiency of the postal service is found in the fact that Khusrau Khan was carried from Devagiri to Delhi in a week's time by orders of sultan Qutbuddin.⁴² These facts as well as the story references of Baranī clearly show that postal service in the days of 'Alāuddīn was quite efficient and must have been of great help to the Sultan in enforcing his various regulations.

⁴² *Ibid.* p. 400.

CHAPTER XV

FISCAL AND REVENUE REFORMS

'Alāuddīn was perhaps the first sovereign of the Turkish line to have taken a keen interest in fiscal and revenue reforms. His predecessors from Quṭbuddīn Aibak to Jalāluddīn Khaljī either did not get the time, or did not possess the initiative to delve into this complicated branch of administration. They had utilized the existing machinery.¹ At least such is the conclusion to which the silence of Minhājus Sirāj and Ziyāuddīn points. Of these two writers the latter was certainly interested in agrarian problems even though superficially.

No doubt 'Alāuddīn's revenue reforms were as distasteful to the nobility and landowners as those others in other spheres of administration, but they were in consonance with the general spirit of administration. The reasons which prompted the sultan to take drastic measures to realise the largest amount of revenue from land and other sources of income are quite obvious. The number and intensity of Mughal invasions in his reign, and the internal menace of the refractory nobles and princes made him into "an absolutely ruthless ruler." Therefore, whatever measures he undertook, either in the civil or revenue administration, or for social welfare, his one object was to bring about security against internal as well as external troubles. The first step towards resumption of royal grants and other landed property was undertaken to clip the wings of a contumacious nobility, for, according to the political philosophy of the Sultan it

¹ Also see Moreland: *Agrarian System of Moslem India* pp. 26-7 and Qureshi: *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 103.

was "wealth" that bred disobedience and vanity. His other measures, concerning the measurement of land, fixation of the rate of land-revenue and its realisation were undertaken to ensure subsistence for a huge army which he had recruited to repulse the Mughal invasions on the one hand and extend his dominions on the other.

Abolition of Land-Grants.

'Alāuddīn ordered resumption of all landed grants which the nobility, government officials and other rich individuals held as gifts, grants or rewards from the state. It was an old custom to reward nobles, learned men and theologians with grants of land. The grants were not hereditary, but ordinarily the descendants were left unmolested with their possession. These land-holders in course of time became lazy and proud as they had a certain income to fall back upon. Sultan Balban had determined to take harsh measures against the nobility who possessed such lands, but the appeal of Malik Fakhruddīn restrained him from proceeding to extremes. Thus Khans and Malikhs were saved from being shorn of all their property. Nevertheless they lost much of their former prestige and power and meekly submitted to that strong sovereign.

At the time of his accession 'Alāuddīn had to bestow gold and lands upon barons and influential people to secure their sympathy and support. But the moment he found himself firmly seated in the regal saddle, he punished all such turncoats on the charge of their being disloyal to their former king Jalāluddīn. Besides other punishments which included blinding and execution, they were deprived of all the wealth that they had received from 'Alāuddīn. Even their household goods and private properties did not escape confiscation. Their houses were appropriated for the royal use and their estates were annexed to the crown lands. In 1297 these steps were confined only to a certain section of

Maliks and Amīrs; but on the king's return from Ranthambhor the scope of their application was considerably widened. They were now directed against all the rich people of the state, nobles, traders and even petty zamindārs, in short whosoever possessed any property. The king ordered that all the estates, villages and other lands which the people held as *milk* (property), *in'ām* (remuneration or reward) and *vaqf* (gift), should forthwith be resumed and turned into the *khālsā* or crown lands. It is probable that all assignments were not confiscated, but their management was taken over by the government.² The state officials were asked to treat the people as tyrannically as possible, and try to extort money from them on any and every pretext, so that nobody should be left in possession of much wealth. These instructions were literally carried out and people were compelled to surrender their property. After a short time, says the contemporary chronicler, matters had gone so far that in the houses of the nobility and the Multānī (mārchants) not much money remained. All pensions, grants of land and endowments were confiscated, and the people had to earn their livelihood by the sweat of their brow. In such circumstances "no one even had time to pronounce the word 'rebellion'."³

The orders regarding the resumption of crown lands, which were meant to impoverish the nobility, were followed by others which affected the chief-men (Muqaddams), petty

² *Baranī* pp. 250-51. The system of granting lands, however, was never given up in the time of 'Alā'uddīn. Malik Qabūl Ulugh Khānī got an estate after his appointment as *shahnah* of grain market (*Baranī* p. 305). *Baranī* also mentions that the nobles who had no landed property got rationed grain (p. 309) in times of scarcity which clearly indicates that there were nobles who had landed property. But the sultan preferred paying in cash, e.g. Amīr Khusrāu got a fixed salary. Also see Qureshī: *Administration* p. 119.

³ *Baranī* p. 283-84. The language of this passage is awfully defective but the sense is quite clear.

zamindārs (*Khūts*) and even ordinary peasants (*balāhar*).⁴ The sultan asked his councillors to suggest ways and means for suppressing the Hindus, whose wealth was as much a "source of rebellion and dis-affection" as that of the nobility. The complaints of 'Alāuddīn about *Khūts* and *Muqaddams* were not that they put on white garments and rode horses. They evaded to pay any of the prevalent taxes like *Kharāj*, *Jazīyah*, *Kari* and *Charai*. Not only that, they even charged extra share as their collection labour (*Khūti*) and whether called or not they never came to the Dīvān and paid no heed to revenue officials.⁵ The king's advisers suggested to him to rescind all the privileges of the landlords (*Khūts* and *Muqaddams*) and to enforce one law regarding the payment of revenue for both landlords and tenants, and not to leave anything as collection charges (حقوق خطوی) so that "the revenue due from the strong might not fall upon the weak." As to the Hindus, much wealth should not be left with them so as to enable them to ride horses, wear fine clothes and indulge in sumptuous and luxurious habits.⁶ It follows from his statement that formerly the revenue due from the

⁴ *Khūt* and *balahar* appear to be vernacular vocables which Baranī so frequently uses in his Persian. From the trend of the text it appears that a *Khūt* was a sort of zamindār or revenue collector and *balahar* was peasant, so that the latter paid revenue to the former. Baranī's text has (p. 287)

بابلا هراں دریں دادن خطوی (۱) The ۱, is given in the British Museum Ms. but not in the Bib. Ind. text. Thus a *balahar* gave the revenue to a *Khūt* who deposited it into the royal exchequer. Prof. Hodivala's interpretation (pp. 277-78) is quite convincing when he says that *Khūt* appears a decapitated form of Sanskrit Gramkūta or village headman. Baranī also uses it in the same sense.

⁵ Baranī p. 291.

⁶ Ibid. pp. 287-88. Land revenue is known as *Kharāj*.

strong used to fall upon the weak. In other words the land holders used to exact as much as possible from the peasant and give only the due share of the revenue to the state. Consequently they appropriated to themselves much more than their own share. This surplus income naturally made them rich and even overbearing. As Mr. Moreland aptly remarks, it appears on the study of Baranī that the population consisted not "of two elements but of three—Moslems, Hindus, and the 'herds' or peasants. . . the question really at issue was how to break the power of the rural leaders, the chiefs and the headmen of parganas and villages. . . .⁷ That the Hindu chiefs with constant desire for independence were very domineering in their behaviour is quite clear from the complaint of Jalāluddīn against them. They chewd *pān* unmindful of anything, dressed in white and moved among the Musalmans with comfort and ease.⁸ Although Baranī lends communal colour to it and says that Sultan Jalāluddīn could not tolerate such behaviour on the part of the Hindus as they were the arch enemies of the religion of Muṣṭafā, yet it is clear that the Hindu middle class was economically well-off and in no way inclined to show an attitude of servility. 'Alāuddīn, who had crushed the nobility ruthlessly, was not expected to leave other "refractory" elements unsubdued, and he took measures to see that nobody in his dominions continued to be so rich or powerful as to be a source of danger to the state. But the statement of Zīyāuddīn Baranī that the sultan undertook a series of measures *to crush the Hindus* expresses the sentiments of the orthodox historian, rather than those of the matter of fact sultan.

By another ordinance the emperor fixed the government share at fifty per cent of the produce and laid down the method of assessment. 'Alāuddīn was the first Muslim king in India

⁷ Moreland : *Agrarian System* p. 32 footnote.

⁸ Baranī pp. 216-17.

who fixed the revenue on the actual measurement of land. The system of measurement was known to the Hindu kings and was in practice in the south, but it seems to have fallen into disuse in the north. It was now revived. Not being as good a historian as Abul Fazl, Baranī does not give the details with regard to the method and instruments of measurement. He, however, speaks of revenue collection according to "bisvah"⁹ which is known even to this day. From this may be inferred that a uniform system of measurement was introduced. Under this system all the land occupied by the rich and the poor was brought under assessment at the uniform rate of fifty per cent. This measure automatically reduced the chiefs practically to the position of peasants. Their surplus income, which they were suspected of levying stopped, half of the produce was sent to the imperial treasury, and from the remaining half grazing and other sundry taxes were paid, leaving a bare minimum to them. Thus it is certain that the chiefs who had been accustomed to live a life of ease and comfort were reduced to a deplorable position; and if Baranī does not exaggerate, the Hindus, who had the monopoly of agriculture, were improverished to such an extent that there was no sign of gold or silver left in their homes, and the wives of *Khūts* and *Muqaddūms* used to seek jobs in the houses of the Musalmans, work there, and receive wages.¹⁰

The demand of fifty per cent of the gross produce was a very harsh measure indeed. Under Hindu sovereigns the state demand was one-fourth to one-sixth. The revenue rose to one-third or fell as low as one-sixth of the produce as the emergency required.¹¹ Under Muslim sovereigns like Iltutmish and Balban also the rate does not seem to have risen above one-

⁹ بحکم مساحت و ثواب بسوه میکنند -

¹⁰ Baranī p. 238.

¹¹ Moreland: *Agrarian System* p. 5.
Manusmriti, chapter VIII.
Arthashastra, p. 140.

third. The demand of 'Alāuddīn for one-half, therefore, could not have been welcome either to the landlords or the peasantry. But this demand was not unlawful as Muslim Jurists permitted fifty per cent. as the maximum revenue.¹² Moreover, the Sultan's orders about prohibition and closing of gambling dens meant a considerable loss to the royal exchequer.¹³ 'Alāuddīn made up the deficiency by raising land revenue to the permissible maximum. The revenue was accepted in cash as well as in kind, but since the Sultan accumulated grain in state granaries he preferred to take the revenue in kind from certain fertile regions near the capital.

After the realisation of land revenue and other taxes which will be described hereafter, the peasants were compelled to sell their surplus grain to the travelling merchants (*caravanīns*), who were assisted by government officials in obtaining it. In short, if the revenue regulations of 'Alāuddīn were meant to crush high landlords, they were in no way less prejudicial to the interests of the peasantry.

Beside the land revenue 'Alāuddīn levied house tax and grazing tax.¹⁴ According to Ziyāuddīn all milk producing

¹² Aghnides, p. 378.

¹³ Baranī p. 284. خرا دہائے بے اندازہ از دفاتر دور کر دند

¹⁴ The text of Baranī reads p. 287.

ازگا و ممبش یا گوسپند ہرچہ شمر آور بود چرای بستاند و
چرائی تعیین شد و از پس ہر خانہ سکونت گری طلب نمابند -

The words clearly mean that a tax was levied on pasturable animals, and besides that from every house (ہر خانہ) a residence tax (سکونت گری) was taken. Dr. Qureshi (*Administration* pp. 232-33) thinks that "گرہ" "is obviously a mistake; گری sounds more convincing". He does not give any reasons for reading گری for گرہ. It may be pointed out

animals like cows and goats were to be taxed. Baranī neither mentions limitations of, nor exemptions from, the grazing tax. But according to Ferishtah, animals up to two pairs of oxen, two buffaloes, two cows and ten goats were free from taxation.¹⁵ The taxable minimum (*niṣāb*) in Muslim law is thirty heads for cows and buffaloes and forty for goat and sheep.¹⁶ Considering this *niṣāb*, the figure of Ferishtah is quite normal: but since neither Ferishtah's source of information is known nor does Baranī talk of any exemption, Ferishtah's figures cannot be literally accepted. It seems probable that 'Alāuddīn exempted only such animals as were indispensable for cultivation, but not cows, buffaloes and goats to the number of a dozen as they gave milk, went for pasture and were a source of income to their possessor.¹⁷

Another tax realised was *karī* (کری) or *Karhī* (کھی). Nothing definite is known about this tax. It appears that the word is a derivative from the Sanskrit word *kar* (कर) which means tax. Baranī does not give any details about it and it can safely be presumed that *karī* was one of the various minor taxes which from time to time have been realised in Hindu and Muslim periods of Indian history.

Jaziyah was levied from non-Muslims as the cash equivalent to "the assistance which they would be liable to give if they had not persisted in their unbelief, because living as

that *karī* or *karhī*, which is altogether a different tax from house tax (سکونت گری) has been mentioned by Baranī on pp. 288 and 289 and should not be confused with the latter. For implications about house tax in Muslim law see Aghnides, p. 288.

¹⁵ Ferishtah, p. 109.

¹⁶ Aghnides, pp. 251-52, 253-54.

¹⁷ See *Zakāt* taxes.

they do in a Muslim state, they must be ready to defend it.¹⁸ Moreover, the main object in levying the tax is the subjection of the infidels to humiliations and during the process of payment, the *zimmī* is seized by the collar and vigorously shaken and pulled about in order to show him his degradation. . . ."¹⁹ As time passed *Jaziyah* could not be levied in such spirit and became a tax, pure and simple. *Jaziyah* was not imposed upon women and children, the insane and the imbecile.

The Sultans of Delhi charged ten, twenty and forty *tankahs* as *Jaziyah* from the poor, the middle class and the rich respectively.²⁰ 'Alāuddīn realized *Jaziyah* from his Hindu subjects, but he does not seem to have imposed it in the spirit of orthodox jurists cited above. Complaining about the contumacy of *Khūts* and *Muqaddms* the Sultan said, "they themselves did not pay any of the taxes—*Kharāj*, *Jaziya*, *Kari* and *Charai*."²¹ This clearly shows that *Jaziyah* was one of the major taxes prevalent. The vanquished Deccan princes sent annual tribute to the imperial capital. What they sent may be termed as *Jaziyah*, but it was more of a political tribute rather than a tax levied from non-Muslims. Of the same nature were the tributes from the Rajput states.

Contemporary chroniclers do not give the figures of the revenue collected from *Jaziyah*, but they do not give figures

¹⁸ Aghnides p. 399.

¹⁹ See Yūsuf in Aghnides pp. 406-7, 530. Compare in this connection Qazī Mughī's inveighing to Sultan 'Alāuddīn about the status of the *zimmī*. So far as the status of the *zimmī* in Muslim law was concerned the information of the Qazī was correct.

²⁰ 'Afif: *Tarīkh-i-Firōz Shahī*, Bib. Ind. Text, p. 383.

²¹ Baranī p. 291.

for *kharāj* and other taxes either. It is, however, reasonable to think that the income from *Jaziyah* was considerable since it was levied from so vast a population of non-believers.²² *Jaziyah* was realised only from non-Muslims and was naturally cancelled by conversion to Islam. Thus, though conversion to Islam meant glorification of the faith it also meant loss of income to the state. Consequently the Sultans who were more intent on acquiring money, and not very much religiously inclined, must have disfavoured conversion. It is obvious that such kings cannot receive so favourable a treat at the hands of the orthodox 'ulama as sultans like Firōz Tughlaq, who, strangely enough, was enthusiastic both about *Jaziyah* and conversion at the same time. To astute administrators like Balban, 'Alāuddīn and Muḥammad Tughlaq replenishment of the royal exchequer was of greater importance than conversion of infidels. They suffered the non-Muslims not necessarily because they were broad-minded or cosmopolitan in outlook but also because they gained by non-Muslims remaining non-Muslims. 'Alāuddīn succeeded as king, what if he invited the anathema of the priestly class.

Khums, as the word signifies, was one-fifth share of the state in the spoils (*ghanāim*) of war. The four-fifths share was distributed among the soldiers. Sultan 'Alāuddīn, who was always much in need of money and also disliked people to grow opulent, disregarded the law and appropriated four-fifths to the state treasury. This scale continued to obtain till Firōz Tughlaq reverted to the old practice of appropriating one-fifth of the booty to the exchequer.

Zakāt is a religious tax levied only from the Muslims. By paying *zakāt* and thereby sharing his property with the needy, a Muslim purifies himself of avarice. Thus the pay-

²² In the time of Aurangzeb *Jaziyah* from Gujarat alone brought a very large amount of revenue. See Elliot relevant vols.

ment of *ḡakāt* is an obligation between God and man and it cannot be collected by force.²³ But since it is an act of piety to pay *ḡakāt* and since it is based on a clear injunction of the Qurān it must be realised by the Inām. *ḡakāt* is not levied on primary necessities of life like dwelling houses, clothes, utensils, slaves and animals used for ploughing or riding.²⁴ It is charged only on "apparent property" such as gold and silver, herds and merchandise, and only when such property exceeds a certain taxable minimum (*niṣāb*). The Muslim jurists have been very liberal in fixing the *niṣāb*. On non-apparent property the owner has an option to pay whatever he likes without being coerced in anyway. Generally speaking *ḡakāt* amounted to 1/40th of the property.

In India *ḡakāt* ceased to be a religious tax imposed only on the Muslims, though an orthodox sovereign like Fīroz Shah included it in the list of state taxes. Here *ḡakāt* was levied in the shape of import duties, and grazing fee on all milk producing animals or those which went for pasture and was realised both from Muslims and non-Muslims.²⁵ Accord-

²³ Aghnides p. 297.

²⁴ Aghnides p. 207. Tripathi: *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration* p. 345.

²⁵ Dr. Qureshi (*Administration*, p. 93) states that "*ḡakāt* was levied by the sultans of Delhi, though the chronicles do not expressly mention this fact. The reason for this silence seems to be that they were writing for Muslim readers, to whom the levy of *ḡakāt* by an Islamic administration would be too obvious a fact to be mentioned". The argument is not convincing. *ḡakāt* tax was perhaps the most difficult to assess and still more difficult to realise. It was levied on "apparent property". Now, we know that in medieval times people used to hide their possessions lest the sultan should come to know of their wealth. It was so especially in 'Alā-uddīn's times. Thus no *ḡakāt* could be realised on property carefully enclosed in the four-walls of a house or buried underground. Moreover it is human nature to avoid payment of a tax until it is almost forcibly realised by the state, and

ing to the Islamic law import duties for Muslims were 5 per cent and for non-Muslims 10 per cent of the commodity.²⁶

Revenue Officials.

A large number of graded officials were appointed to carry on the revenue administration. The credit of the success with which the orders of the Sulatn were enforced, and full share of the revenue realised, goes to the deputy vazir (Naib vazir) Sharf Qayini.²⁷ For several years this officer made strenuous efforts to apply the ordinances of the sultan to most parts of northern India. He was successful in introducing the system of measurement in the district about Delhi like Pālam, Revārī, Afghānpūr, Amroha, Badaon and Koel, as also in the divisions of Deopalpūr, Lahore, Samanah and Sunam in the west, upto Katehar (Rohilkhan) in the east and portions of Malwa and Rajputana (e.g. Bayana and Jhain) in the south, but not in Gujarat, Malwa and Avadh. Thus it is clear that the system of measurement, 50 per cent revenue, and grazing tax, were enforced in the central part of the country and some other provinces in north and west but not in the whole of the empire. Nevertheless

if a man can avoid payment with impunity he would never like to pay. *ẓakāt* could not be realised forcibly since "compulsion vitiates its character". Again it could only be applied to a property held in possession of the owner for at least one year. If a person, just to avoid *ẓakāt*, transferred his taxable property to somebody else even a day before the date of payment, he escaped from making payment (Aghnides pp. 530-33). Lastly, the collectors of *ẓakāt* are not subject to audit. There was no check to a collector's realising a certain sum of money in *ẓakāt* and depositing a lesser amount in the exchequer. Such a vague tax had no place in 'Alāuddīn's system of revenue administration.

²⁶ Aghnides p. 318.

²⁷ The Calcutta text of Baranī has (p. 288) شرف قايى but Major Fuller's Ms. has شرف قايینی. The latter is the correct form and is well known in Persia.

even this was a great achievement for 'Alāuddīn and his deputy minister Sharf Qayinī, to whose accomplishments and efficiency Baranī pays a well deserved tribute.

Sharf Qayinī took drastic steps to remove the maladministration in the revenue department. The conversion of large areas into crown lands, and their direct relations with the state necessitated steps for realisation of revenue in full. "One of the standing evils in the revenue collection consisted in defective realisation which usually left large balances to be accounted for. As the revenue system was yet in the making and the machinery for assessment and collection was yet undeveloped, unrealised balances were probably inevitable."²⁸ Moreover, the lower revenue officials, whose number must necessarily have been increased with the increase in the area of crown lands, were corrupt and extortionate. 'Alāuddīn determined to do away with these evils. He created a department known as the Divān-i-Mustakhraj. The Mustakhraj was entrusted with the duties of inquiring into the arrears lying in the name of collectors, and of realising them.²⁹ He freely punished the *āmils* and *kārkuns* to realise the balances in full. Equally drastic measures were taken to stop corruption among *patvārīs* and other lower officials of the revenue department. Realising that the low salaries of the officials tempted them to accept and even extort bribes, the Sultan increased their salaries so that they could live in comfort and respectability. But this did not improve matters and corruption among the lower officials continued. The Sultan ruthlessly punished all those found guilty of corruption. The punishments seem to have been severe indeed, for 'Alāuddīn told Qazī Mughīs that he had brought to book thousands³⁰ of clerks and collectors,

²⁸ Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Admini.* p. 262.

²⁹ Baranī pp. 288-89, 292.

³⁰ Ibid. p. 296, has 10,000, but the figure may not be accepted literally.

had reduced them to beggary and had made their flesh sore. The strict vigilance of 'Alāuddīn over the conduct of the *putvaris* and *amils*, the inspection of their revenue books by superior officers and the sultan himself, and the ruthless punishments with which they were visited for accepting bribes and falsifying accounts, brought the lower offices of the revenue department into disrepute. The revenue officials regarded their office worse than "plague", as for five hundred or one thousand *tankahs* they were kept in jails for many years. Baranī hyperbolically says that one would not give his daughter in marriage to a revenue official, while the office of the superintendent was only accepted by one who had no regard for his life, for these officials passed most of their days in jail frequently receiving blows and kicks.³¹ At last the stern punishments of 'Alāuddīn had their effect. Ziyāuddīn affirms that it was no longer possible for any one to take even a *tankah* from either a Hindu or a Musalman by way of bribe or extortion.³²

Before closing the discussion on revenue administration it may be pointed out that 'Alāuddīn neither abolished the *iqta* nor the *Khutī* system. He only abrogated the privileges of the landlord class, crushed their contumacy and compelled them to lead a life of frugality if not of destitution. By his excessive demands he in no way benefited the peasantry for which Ziyāuddīn bitterly criticises the monarch. It is certain that 'Alāuddīn's regulations were an outcome of political exigencies yet it was not impossible for him to be less tyrannical to the tillers of the soil, to the merchants and to his own revenue officials whose flesh he made "sore". Everything in 'Alāuddīn's administration smacked of force, and if Shaikh Bashīr pointed out that 'Alāuddīn's govern-

³¹ Ibid. p. 289.

³² Ibid. p. 289.

ment had very shallow foundations, he was not incorrect. Economic prosperity and not force is the foundation of a stable government. But 'Alā'uddīn wanted to impoverish his countrymen so that the word "rebellion" should not pass their lips.

But Baranī's invectives that 'Alā'uddīn's measures were meant to crush the Hindus as such are quite baseless. Noblemen, traders, cultivators all bore the burnt of 'Alā'uddīn's regulations, but since agriculture was confined mainly to the Hindus they suffered most. Land was the main source of state revenues then, as it is now, and the sultan increased it to the maximum possible. The result was the grinding down of the peasant class, while the *Khūts* and *muqaddams* were reduced to the status of low peasantry, shorn of their time-honoured privileges.

CHAPTER XVI

SOCIAL AND MILITARY REFORMS

The main aims of the Sultans of Delhi in general and of 'Alāuddīn in particular were the conquest of independent kingdoms of India and of repulsing the Mughal invasions. The number of Mughal invasions in the time of 'Alāuddīn was the largest compared with the times of his predecessors and successors. So formidable were the onslaughts of the Mughals that on more than one occasion it appeared as if the empire would be lost to them. In such circumstances the reorganization of the state army was a great necessity and 'Alāuddīn took various measures to improve the strength, administration and morale of the army.

The sufferings of the Muslim army at Ranthambhor and Chittor, which were reduced with the utmost difficulty, the unsuccessful expedition of Malik Jūna in the east and about the same time the appearance of Mughals under Targhī in Delhi itself, brought to the mind of the sultan the dire necessity of putting the armed forces on an efficient footing. In consultation with his trusted nobles he decided that the then existing fortifications should be repaired, that new ones should be built at strategic points, and that all of them should be strongly garrisoned. It was also decided to order fresh recruitment and raise a large army to fight external and internal foes.

The army consisted chiefly of cavalry and infantry; elephants were also used in times of war. The Dīvān-i-'Arz (Muster Master) kept a descriptive roll of every soldier. 'Alāuddīn introduced the system of branding horses,¹ so that at the time of review no horse could be presented twice or replaced by a worse one. A strict review of the army of

¹ Baranī.

the state was occasionally made and the horses and arms of the soldiers were examined. 'Alāuddīn maintained a large standing army on a permanent basis, and did not disband his troops as soon as a conquest was accomplished or a foreign invasion repulsed. According to Ferishtah the Sultan maintained a standing army of 4,75,000 horsemen well equipped and accoutred. The salary of a soldier was fixed at 234 tankhas per year or $19\frac{1}{2}$ *tankhas* per month, and if the soldier had two horses he was given an additional allowance of 78 tankhas per year or $6\frac{1}{2}$ *tankhas* per month for the maintenance of the additional horse.

The passage in Baranī² relating to the salary of a soldier is defective and has aroused much controversy. In the passage quoted below 'Alāuddīn says:—

دولست سي و چهار تنكه بمرتب دهم و هفتاك و هشت تنكه

بدواسپه دهم و دواسپ و استعداد براندازه ان از و مرتب

طلبم و يك اسپه و استعداد بر اندازه يك اسپ ازو طلبم -

Martab means a beast of burden, *murattab* means one who gives ترتيب or arranges and *martab* may also be a derivation from مرتبه which means position or dignity. Therefore, it is difficult to fix the meaning of the word *martab*. In the above passage, however, *martab* or *murattab* stands for a soldier whose salary was fixed by the sultan at 234 *tankahs*. In those times raw men were not recruited and given training by the state. Only professional soldiers were enrolled. It stands to reason, therefore, that a soldier possessed (at least) one horse. But if he possessed two horses he was given an extra allowance of 78 *tankahs* for the additional horse. Thus a man with two horses, who was technically known as *do as-pah* got 234 *tankahs* as his personal salary as a soldier posses-

² Baranī p. 303.

sing one horse and 78 *tankahs* for maintaining the second horse. Since he received allowance for an extra horse the sultan insisted upon his maintaining the additional horse. Ordinarily a soldier getting 234 *tankahs* was required to keep only one horse, and was technically known as *yak aspah*. It is obvious that no extra allowance was paid to a *yak aspah* or to one who had more than two horses.

So the above passage of Baranī may be translated as follows :—

“I give 234 *tankahs* to a *martab* (*murattab*) or soldier, and give 78 *tankahs* (more) to a *do aspah* (or two-horse soldier.) I expect the *do aspah* to maintain two horses and their corresponding equipment. (But if he is not a *do aspah* and an ordinary soldier) I expect him to maintain one horse and its corresponding equipment.”

This idea is repeated in another passage of Baranī³ wherein he says that the salary of a soldier and the extra allowance of a *do aspah* were quite sufficient for them.

”از پس آنکه نرخهائی اسباب ارزانی گرفت حشم مرتب بدویست سی چهار تنکه و دواسیه بهفتاد و هشت تنکه بسیار شد و مستقیم گشت“ —

The idea again finds confirmation in the following passage in which Qazī Mughīśuddīn enjoins upon the king to live the life of an ordinary soldier,⁴ and spend only 234 *tankahs* on himself and his family.

”چنانکه خداوند عالم اهل جهاد را دویست سی و چهار تنکه تعیین کرده است همان مقدار خداوند عالم را از برای نفقه خاصه و حرم خود برداید داشت“ —

The passages of the contemporary chronicler cited above leave no doubt that the salary of an ordinary trooper (*ahl-i-*

³ Ibid. p. 319.

⁴ Baranī pp. 293-294.

jihād) was 234 tankahs, while the one who possessed two horses got an extra allowance of 78 tankahs. Dr. I. H. Qureshi,⁵ however, is inclined to agree with Ferishtah that there were three grades of soldiers getting 234, 156 and 78 tankahs respectively. The passage in the Lucknow text of Ferishtah reads:—

”مواجب سالیانه سپاهی را بریں نزع مقرر ساخت -
اول دویست و سی و چهار تنکه دوم یک صد و پنجاه و شش تنکه
سوم هفتاد و هشت تنکه و چون عمال بدین دستور عمل نمودند
چهار لک و هفتاد و پنج هزار سوار بقلم در آمد“ -

Dr. Qureshi thinks that the three grades of cavalrymen were *murattab*, *savār* and *do aspah* and got 234, 156 and 78 tankahs respectively. He quotes a passage from Baranī⁷ to show that *savār* was superior to *do aspah*, since while the former drove away a hundred Mughals before him the latter imprisoned only ten.

”لشکر اسلام بر لشکر مغل چنان چیره گشت که یکدو
اسب ده مغل را رشته در گردن انداخته می آورد ایک سوار
مسلمان صد سوار مغل را پیش کرده می دوانید“ -

Now, to begin with, as has already been pointed out, the meaning of the word *martab* or *murattab* is very doubtful. There is nothing to show that he was a superior officer in the army. Had he been one, Baranī would have given his rank or at least would have said so. On the contrary a *martab* is nothing more than an ordinary soldier (*ahl-i-jihād*) as both got 234 tankahs. Baranī nowhere mentions a *savār* as a second grade officer or that the lowest grade soldier was known as *do aspah*. In the above passage Baranī simply uses the word *savār* in the sense of a horse-

⁵ *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, pp. 234-35.

⁶ Ferishtah p. 114.

⁷ Baranī p. 320.

man. He does not specifically mention that a *savār* was in any way superior to a *do aspah*. He simply means to say that the Indian soldiers became so dominant that a *do aspah* could bring ten prisoners of war and a soldier or cavalryman could drive before him a hundred Mughals. It is more difficult to arrest ten than to drive away a hundred men, and the passage quoted above does not prove the superiority of *savār* to *do aspah*. It is only a hyperbolical way of asserting the supremacy of Indian soldiers and the passage should not be taken literally.

To conclude. The salary fixed for a soldier by 'Alāuddīn was 234 *tankahs* a year or 19½ *tankahs* a month. For maintaining an extra horse he got 6½ *tankahs* more. There were, however, no gradations of soldiers on the lines suggested by Ferishtah.

The salary of the trooper was pretty meagre, but 'Alāuddīn seems to have been very particular in keeping his soldiers contented. His instructions to Malik Tājuddīn Kāfūr while the latter was marching on an expedition to Warangal clearly show the keen interest 'Alāuddīn took in the welfare of his soldiers. He used to lavish largesses on his generals and troops whenever they returned from the Deccan. But the king could not give his soldiers a high salary. He was also opposed to assigning them lands for their maintenance. Consequently he cheapened the necessities of life, controlled the market, and undertook other economic measures which will be studied in the next chapter. These reforms were undertaken primarily for the benefit of the soldiery, and indicate the interest the sultan took in the well-being of the army on which depended the fulfilment of his ambitions and the defence of the state.

Social Reforms.

Curiously enough some of the social reforms of 'Alāuddīn were also an outcome of political exigencies and not of any phi-

lanthropic motives. One of the notable steps was the prohibition of sale and use of intoxicants. He enforced prohibition not because drinking was harmful to the people at large but because its use made people assemble in gatherings, lose themselves and think of revolt. It was with the intention of putting an end to any incentives to rebellion that the Sultan ordered prohibition.⁸

Wine is prohibited in Islam. Nevertheless wine drinking was perhaps the greatest vice of Muslim sultans and nobles in medieval times. 'Alāuddīn himself drank hard, and was advised by Malik 'Alāulmulk to stop drinking to excess and holding convivial parties if he wanted to be a successful monarch.⁹ It is not known as to what extent 'Alāuddīn followed the advice of his sagacious courtier, but with the successive outbreaks in his kingdom he determined to put a stop to the use of wine and other intoxicants. First he only ordered prohibition of the sale and purchase of wine, but afterwards prohibited the use of hemp, toddy (bagni) and other intoxicants as well.¹⁰ Gambling and dicing were also

⁸ 'Isāmī gives an interesting story in connection with the prohibition. He says that one day when the Sultan was sitting with his boon companions like Malik Qīra Beg, Malik Qīrān and others, one of the nobles present there obediently told him how the people were suffering on account of the famine that year, while the king was making merry. The Sultan was greatly moved with this remark and from that day he gave up wine, prohibited it among other people and undertook various reforms. (*Futūḥ* pp. 305-7). The story seems to be nothing more than hearsay.

⁹ Baranī pp. 270-71.

¹⁰ Baranī p. 284 has **بنگ و قمار - و شراب** *Bagni or Buggni* is described in Persian dictionaries as a kind of light and intoxicating beverage, which can be classed with *nabiz* or a lawful drink. Steingass says that *Bagni* is malt liquor or beer. " 'Alāuddīn, inspired by a recent convert's burning zeal for total prohibition appears to have classed *Bagni* with the *unlawful and intoxicating* drinks and gone further than the theologians." (Hodivala pp. 276-77).

prohibited. In short 'Alāuddīn prohibited all those things which encouraged convivial assemblies and in which people expressed themselves freely. There is no doubt that it was in such congregations that "evil politics" was discussed and conspiracies against king and government were hatched.¹¹

'Alāuddīn began by excommunicating from the capital vintners, drunkards, gamblers and vendors of toddy and hemp. High officials were ordered to mount on elephants and proclaim aloud in every market and street of Delhi, and at all the gates on the outskirts of the city that the use and sale of wine were strictly prohibited. As an act of goodwill the king himself gave up drinking wine. All the beautiful glass and porcelain vessels of the king's place were smashed and piled in heaps before the Badaon Gate. Gold and silver vessels were melted and coined into money.¹² Large quantities of wine, which were stored in the palace cellars, were poured out into the streets. The people were also ordered to throw away any wine they possessed so that the streets of Delhi were "filled with mud and mire as in the rainy season."

As soon as the orders were enforced the respectable people at once gave up drinking, but the habitual drinkers as also those whose livelihood depended upon the sale of wine resorted to illegal means to continue the sale and use of wine. They erected small stills or pans (*bhatthi*) and distilled wine from sugar. The product was sold in the black-market and drunk in secrecy. Not only was liquor fermented in the capital city by such illegal means, it was also smuggled into Delhi in leather bags, hidden under bundles of grass or fuel and by many other devices. But 'Alāuddīn's orders were never

¹¹ The conspiracy at Malik Tājuddīn Kūchī's residence against Jalāl may be cited as an instance, Barani pp. 190-91.

¹² *Ferishtah*, p. 109.

enforced partially. As soon as he came to know that wine was secretly sold he ordered the offenders to be severely punished. Their wine was seized and given to elephants of the royal stables, and the culprits were beaten with sticks, fettered and thrown into wells specially dug for the purpose in front of the Badaon Gate. In these monstrous holes many offenders rotted and died while those who got released after some time were so much shattered in health that they were almost half dead and took much time to regain their lost strength.

The intelligence department (*barīds* and *munhiyāns*) strictly supervised over everything that happened inside the capital and their very existence made the people renounce wine. Those who could not give up liquor in any case used to go into villages ten or twelve *kos* from Delhi and drink there, but inside the capital city or its environs like *Ghayāspūr*, *Indarpat* and *Kilughari* or even in villages four or five *kos* from it, the sale and purchase of wine was not at all feasible.

The orders of the sultan had been carried to such an extreme to which perhaps even he himself did not want. He simply wanted that country wine, which is very intoxicating should not be drunk freely, openly or in large assemblies. As soon, therefore, as he came to know that wine drinking had been given up by the nobility and the respectable people of the city, and that the incorrigible *must* drink in spite of the severe punishments accorded to them, he relaxed his orders to some extent. He permitted private distillation and drinking in secret. In short, people were required to carry their wine like gentlemen and not to hold drink-parties. Nonetheless no public selling or use of wine was permitted.

According to Baranī, 'Alāuddīn's orders about prohibition had the desired effect, and "from the day that the use of wine was interdicted in the City, treachery and rebellion (کنکا جہائی بلغاک) began to diminish and thought of rebellion left the minds of the people."

Prohibition of Incest and Adultery.

It was discovered that certain Shia sects like the Carmathians and Ismailias¹³ indulged in free licence and incest. According to Ferishtah such sects were found in some countries like Sham (Syria) but were never known to have existed in India. As soon as 'Alāuddīn came to know of these shameless people he ordered them to be severely punished. The "saw" of punishment cut them down after searching them in towns and cities, so that incestuous tribes were altogether extirpated.¹⁴

Prostitution was also stopped and all professional women of the city were compelled to marry within a prescribed period of time.¹⁵ This stopping of the immoral trade was one of the most important steps of Sultan 'Alāuddīn, as it preserved public morals. Similarly the sultan also put down adultery by enforcing a regulation according to which the adulteress was stoned to death and the adulterer was castrated.¹⁶

Charlatanism was discouraged and punished. "Blood sucking magicians," says Amīr Khusrau, were severely punished by being stoned to death.¹⁷ Although Baranī does not make mention of any steps against sorcerers and magicians,

¹³ *Baranī* (p. 336) calls them Ibahityan and Bodhkan and ascribes the event of their punishment to the closing years of 'Alāuddīn.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 336. *Khazain.* Habib Trs. p. 12.

¹⁵ *Khazāin.* Allahabad University Ms. fol. 10(a). Habib Trs. p. 11. Baranī does not mention compulsory marriage for prostitutes. Ferishtah's statement based on the *Muhli-kāts* of 'Ainuddīn Bijapuri that the king classified prostitutes under three grades and fixed their fees, should be rejected as Khusrau, a contemporary, definitely states that 'Alāuddīn discouraged prostitution.

¹⁶ *Baranī* p. 296.

¹⁷ *Khazain.* Habib Trs. p. 12.

yet his assertion, that in 'Alāuddīn's time nobody had the courage to profess knowledge of "alchemy or magic" from fear of the Sultan, is significant. It is quite probable that in those days of superstition and universal belief in witchcraft, people may have been terrorised by certain magicians and quacks and 'Alāuddīn put an end to their nefarious trade.

Except for prohibition of wine, which probably was undertaken with a political motive, the other reforms of 'Alāuddīn were surely meant for the benefit of the public at large and the tranquillity of the country. That the sultan realised the evils of adultery, prostitution and sorcery and took steps to stop them shows that he was not only a military ruler but also a social reformer.

CHAPTER XVII

ECONOMIC MEASURES

'Alāuddīn's passion for incessant conquest and constant invasions of the Mughal free-booters from the north-west had rendered maintenance of a large army unavoidable. Besides the army, the expenses on a large staff of state officials, civil and military administration, and on slaves¹ involved heavy liabilities on the royal exchequer. The wealth accumulated in the time of Sultan Jalāluddīn,² the treasures secured from the raid on Devagiri in 1296 and the yearly tributes collected from the various provinces and dependencies of the empire were insufficient to meet the financial burden. Even the raising of the revenue to fifty per cent. of the produce, the levying of different kinds of cesses, and the conversion of the drinking vessels of gold and silver into coins³ failed to meet the requirements of the state. It was calculated that if the king recruited a large number of troops on a moderate salary, the entire state treasure would be exhausted within five or six years.⁴ Moreover, from 1303 onwards a large number of build-ings were constructed. 'Alāuddīn, therefore, decided to cut down the salary of soldiers; but to prevent their falling a victim to economic distress⁵ he decided to reduce the prices

¹ According to Ferishtah 'Alāuddīn had 50,000 slaves.

² Jalāluddīn was not an extravagant monarch. He did not waste money to maintain a magnificent court nor did he undertake any grand conquests which might have entailed a large expense. According to *Tarikh-i-Haqqī* (Bankipore Ms. Fol. 200) he was not liberal. "سلطان نیز پادشاهانه نبود"

"بخشش"

Also Baranī p. 188.

³ *Ferishtah* p. 109.

⁴ *Baranī* p. 303.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 304.

of commodities of daily use.⁶ With this end in view, he instituted various regulations and promulgated orders which brought down the cost of living. These regulations, which may be termed as Economic Reforms of 'Alāuddīn Khālji, form a conspicuous feature of his administration.

Shaikh Naṣīruddīn, the author of *Khairulmajālis* (written in 1352-53 A.D.), has given a very interesting anecdote in connection with these regulations. He writes that once Qazī Ḥamīduddīn held a grand feast and invited him (the saint) to dinner. When all the other guests had left and the Shaikh was the only person left with Ḥamīd, the latter related an incident of the days of 'Alāuddīn. He said that once he found sultan 'Alāuddīn sitting close and pensive, his head bare, his mind perturbed. Malik Qīra Bēg asked the sultan to unfold the reason of his quiet contemplation and oppressing silence. The sultan replied: "Listen! It has often crossed my mind.....that in this world of God, where so many men reside, I have been chosen to rule (over them). It behoves me, therefore, that I should do something the benefit of which may be enjoyed by everybody (*بر همه خلق*). I know that whether I distribute all the treasures that I possess or give away all the lands and villages to the people, I would not be able to benefit the whole section of them. Just now, however, an idea has struck my mind and I shall talk it over to you. I have planned to cheapen the foodstuffs and the benefit (of this step) will reach everybody. Grain would be made cheap in this way. I will send for all the *naigān* (roving merchants?) who bring grain into the City. I shall give them money from the treasury to buy and bring grain (into the City). (In lieu thereof) I shall give the traders apparel and money to support their families.' Orders were accordingly given and grain began to arrive from all sides..

⁶ See the chapter on Administration.

..... The saint then comments "such was sultan 'Alāuddīn that people used to pay homage to his tomb, put sacred thread on his grave, beg for boons and their wishes were fulfilled."⁷

This may be called Sūfic interpretation of 'Alāuddīn's Market Control. The incident has not been mentioned by any historian contemporary or later. It is recorded in a book on saints written about fifty years after the enforcement of market regulations. Even if it be accepted as true, since the Qazī's conversation with Sultan took place at a private interview, the philanthropic motive of the Sultan as depicted by the author of *Khairulmajālis*, may have been only a passing whim of his mind. Baranī, the contemporary historian, definitely states that 'Alāuddīn introduced market regulations for the benefit of the imperial troops. The army was only a portion of the humanity (*Khalq-i-Khuda*) whom the king was trying to make happy. Moreover, the prices were controlled in Delhi alone, and nothing was done for the benefit of the people elsewhere. Again, the peasants and the traders were also as good *Khalq-i-Khuda* as the soldiers, but the regulations of 'Alāuddīn, as would appear from the following pages, proved to be highly injurious to their interests. Even to the soldiery the benefit of the cheapness of the prices did not amount to much. If the prices for the necessities of life were lowered the salaries of the soldiers were also curtailed, and it is difficult to conclude that the troops really gained from the new arrangement. Ziyāuddīn's humorous expression that a rumour got afloat in Delhi that "a camel could be had for a *dang*, but wherefrom the *dang*" clearly explains the position. The revenue regulations of the sultan impoverished the agriculturists. His reduction of salaries of soldiers did not improve the lot of government servants. In these circumstances the control of price was the outcome of an imperative necessity rather than of a philanthropic motive. Moreover, the harshness and

7 *Khairulmajālis* Prof. Habib's Ms. fols. 290-92.

violence with which the market regulations were enforced, tell a story very different from that related by Shaikh Naṣiruddīn.

In fact high prices mean a high standard of living. 'Alāuddīn did not want to pay high salaries. He did not want people to be rich lest they should be refractory and turbulent. Naturally, if he wanted to pay lower salaries he had to lower the prices of commodities. 'Alāuddīn may not have known such principles of Political Economy, but one thing is certain that his reduction of salaries and his revenue regulations directly, and his market control indirectly, impoverished his subjects. Ziyāuddīn Baranī is quite correct when he says that the sultan lowered the prices of commodities, firstly, because he wanted to reduce the salaries of the soldiers to relieve pressure on the imperial exchequer, and secondly, because he wanted to keep them contented with their meagre pay.

The reign of 'Alāuddīn was full of bloody warfare, a state which tended to increase the prices of commodities. Moreover, war involves dislocation of traffic, and the almost primitive means of transport of the 13th and 14th centuries must have been surely affected by the then conditions. A glaring instance of it is to be found during the invasion of Targhī (1303 A.D.) when the Mughal invader stopped all caravans from entering Delhi by capturing the roads around it as well as the fords of Jumna. Such a situation would have created intense scarcity of food grain in the capital and would have raised the prices of things exorbitantly. 'Alāuddīn tried to overcome the difficulties of transport and of high prices by accumulating food stuffs in the capital on the one hand, and by fixing their prices on the other. For this, the sultan undertook certain measures which are interesting to study as they show that as far back as the 14th century the principles of enhancement of taxes, of price control, and of rationing during a state of war, were as much comprehensible as they are to-day.

Food Control.

The prime necessity of man is food to which the sultan gave his first and fullest attention. To begin with, he regulated the prices of food-grains and fixed them at very low rates. The prices fixed were as follows :—

Wheat.....	7½ jītal per man.
Barley.....	4 jītal „ „
Gram.....	5 jītal „ „
Rice.....	5 jītal „ „
Mash (Urad).....	5 jītal „ „
Moth.....	3 jītal „ „ ^s

It is extremely difficult to calculate these prices in terms of modern currency and weights since the data necessary to determine the proportion of the coins and weights of those times with the modern ones are not available. The purchasing power of money since the 14th century has considerably changed. Consequently, it is not easy to determine exactly as to what extent man in the 14th century was better or worse off than he is to-day.

Ferishtah, however, states that in 'Alāúddīn's times a *tankah*, whether of gold or silver, was equal to one tola in weight, and that a *tankah* of silver was equal to fifty jitals. The weight of jital, a small copper coin which continued to be current in Ferishtah's time also, weighed according to some one tola and according to some others 1½ tolas. The *tankah* of 'Alāúddīn, adds Ferishtah, was equal to one tola consisting of 96 *rattīs*, and so also it was later found by Babur.⁹ Therefore, the *tankah* of 'Alāúddīn was exactly equal in weight to the present day rupee. So far as the *jītal* is concerned, Mr. Nelson Wright thinks that "an equation of 48

^s This list does not exhaust the names of all food-grains. Obviously the prices of other cereals like pulses and peas would also have been controlled in the same way.

⁹ Nelson Wright p. 72.

jitals to the *tankah* would be more in keeping with probability than one of 50 *jitals*” which ratio is given by Ferishtah. Mr. Wright further adds “the fractional silver issues of 7th century point emphatically to a *tankah* of 48 *jitals*. To that extent Ferishtah’s statement which after all was made some centuries later must be regarded as indirectly corroborative rather than implicitly correct. The *jital* then may be taken as equivalent to two ratties of silver.”¹⁰ Thus if we take a *tankah* equal to a rupee, a *jital* could be equal to $1\frac{1}{3}$ of our modern pice.

$7\frac{1}{2}$ *jitals*, says Baranī, bought one *man* of wheat. The *man* of Firōz Tughlaq’s time was of 40 *ser*s and a *ser* is stated to have been of 70 *misqāls*. Taking the weight of *misqāl* at the even average of 72 grains, the *ser* would range at 5040 grains and a *man* would amount to 201, 600 grains, 35 lbs. troy and 28.8 lbs. avoirdupois. Ferishtah, however, says that the *man* of ‘Alāuddīn’s time consisted of 40 *ser*s, the weight of a *ser* being 24 tolas. Thus according to Ferishtah, a *man* of ‘Alāuddīn’s times was equal to 12 *ser*s and according to Thoms’ calculations it was equal to 14 *ser*s of today. Thus if $7\frac{1}{2}$ *jitals* bought one *man* of wheat, one *jital* would buy $5\frac{1}{3}$ *ser*s (of 24 tolas each). Calculated in modern money one pice ($\frac{1}{2}$ *jital*) would buy $1\frac{1}{3}$ *ser* of 80 tolas each. Thus a present day rupee would buy about two present day maunds of wheat in ‘Alāuddīn’s time. All other prices may be calculated on this basis.

Now, though the prices fixed by ‘Alāuddīn were quite low yet it is difficult to agree with Baranī that they were the lowest compared with those that were prevalent in the reigns of his predecessors and successors. In the time of Balban, baked bread used to sell at two *ser*s a *jital*;¹² and, therefore, wheat

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Thomas: *Chronicles*. pp. 160-63. Thomas calculates on the authority of Yule: *Cathay and the Way Thither*.

¹² Habib: *Hazrat Amir Khusrāu* p. 30.

would have been cheaper still. Price level on the whole went up in the time of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, but it again dropped to the previous level of 'Alāuddīn under Firōz Tughlaq. The following table would illustrate this point:—

Name of Commodity	Price under Alāuddīn	Under Firōz
Wheat .. per man ..	7½ jītal	8 jītal
Barley	4 ..	4 ..
Paddy and pulses	5 ..	4 ..
Sugar	100 ..	120 & 140

It is possible that 'Afif exaggerated when giving the prices of the time of Firōz, because Shaikh Naṣīruddīn Chirāgh says in *Khairulmajālis*, which he wrote in Firōz's reign, that 'Alāuddīn's days were cheaper. Yet we find that prices were still cheaper in the time of the Lūdis. The author of *Tarikh-i-Dāūdī* mentions that in the reign of sultan Ibrāhīm Lūdī the prices of commodities were cheaper than those obtained in the reign of any other sultan except in 'Alāuddīn's last days. He further adds that whereas in 'Alāuddīn's time the cheapness of price was maintained by resorting to coercion and force, in Ibrāhīm's reign prices remained low without anything like that.¹³ Thus what is really of importance in 'Alāuddīn's reign is not so much the cheapness of the prices, as "the establishment of a fixed price in the market, which was considered one of the wonders of the age."

The Grain Market.

Having fixed the prices of food grain, the sultan established grain market and government grain stores wherefrom

¹³ یکی از نوادر، د سلطان ابراهیم آن بوده که غله و جامه و سایر اجناس چنان ارزان شد که در هیچ عصر نبوده مگر در آخر عهد سلطان علاالدین خلجی شده باشد - و ارزانی عهد علاالدین بصد هزار تکلیف و سیاست و اکراه بود ارزانی عهد ابراهیم آسانی بود -

Tarikh-i-Dāūdī, Bankipore Ms. fols. 223-24.

the people and the merchants could obtain foodstuffs. The grain market was run by two types of merchants. Firstly, those who had their permanent shops in Delhi and may be called retailers or distributors, and secondly, the *caravaniāns* or travelling-merchants who brought grain into the city and sold it to the shopkeepers as well as to the people. Before the enforcement of market regulations the shopkeepers as well as the *caravaniāns* made as much profit as they liked. But with the promulgation of the new orders fixing the prices of food grains at a lower level and for all time—irrespective of the vagaries of weather—the merchants were left with very little marginal profit. The result was that while the shopkeepers in Delhi looked with disgust at the new regulations, the *caravaniāns* stopped coming into the City. But 'Alāuddīn was determined to see his scheme carried out to a successful end. He ordered that the travelling-merchants should get themselves registered with the *Shahnah* of the market. Malik Qabūl, the superintendent of the Grain Market, apprehended the leaders of the travelling-merchants and kept them under surveillance until they agreed to bring grain regularly to the market from places outside Delhi and sell it at scheduled rates. They were asked to take up residence with their women and children in villages on the Jumna within the direct jurisdiction of the superintendent. They had no other alternative but to obey. They signed agreements, collectively and individually, to maintain a regular supply of grain to the market. Thus the danger of supplies falling short in the grain market was eliminated.

To obviate the difficulties of *caravaniāns* in obtaining grain at prices which would ensure them a margin of profit 'Alāuddīn issued a royal rescript to all the magistrates and collectors (*shahnagān* and *mutṣarrifān*) of the country lying in the doāb and other regions near the capital city, requiring them to give written undertakings to the crown to the effect that they would try to obtain as much grain from the culti-

vators as possible. They were ordered to realise 50% of the produce as land tax from the agriculturists with the utmost rigour. They were also asked to compel the latter to sell their surplus stocks to the travelling merchants on the fields, at a rate fixed by the king. It was the duty of the revenue officials to prevent regrating of corn by husbandmen and to see that they were left only with bare sustenance.¹⁴ For breach of this regulation the officers were held responsible and were called to account. Thus all the available grain flowed into the market which remained well stocked. Black-marketing did not and could not exist, and profits were wiped off.

The Grain Stores.

Besides the husbandman and the roving merchant there was yet another factor from which interruption in supply could be apprehended. This was weather on which depended crops.¹⁵ As a counterblast against its vagaries the sultan

¹⁴ Baranī says that a peasant could not even lay aside ten *man* of grain (p. 305). The following two statements of Baranī testify to the severe orders of the sultan:—

- (۱) خراج میان دو آب و ولایت صد کروهی بر نهجی
 کنند که رعایا نتوانند که ده من غله ذخیره کنند و
 چنان بشدت طلبند (نطلبند) (Text wrongly has) که ریت
 غله بر سرکشت بدست کاروانیان بفروشند (p 305) -
- (۲) سلطان فرمان داد بود تا از دیوان اعلیٰ از شکنگان
 و متصرفان و ولایت میان دو آب که به شهر نزدیک است خط
 ستانند تا ایشان از رعایا خراج چنان بشدت طلب نمایند
 که ایشان را غله از کشت در خانها آوردن و احتکار کردن
 ممکن نبود و هم بر سرکشت بنرخ ارزان غله بدست کاروانیان
 بفروشند (p. 307) ^۱

¹⁵ Cf. the famine in Jalāluddīn's time when price of grain rose very high.

established government grain stores. These granaries were kept well stocked. There was scarcely a *mohalla*, says Baranī, where two or three royal stores filled with food-stuffs did not exist. These were different from grain shops. They were godowns where grain was stored in reserve to be released in times of emergency. If the crops were spoilt due to scarcity or irregularity of rainfall, or if the primitive agencies of transport were not able to bring sufficient grain into the capital the accumulated grain was taken out, handed over to the travelling merchants, who carried it to the grain market, where it was sold to the public at the regulated prices and in quantities fixed for individual purchasers.

Rationing.

In favourable seasons the people could buy as much grain as they liked. But conditions were not the same in seasons of drought and famine. In seasons of drought, grain could not be sold to the people of Delhi in indefinite quantities, the more so because the people of the vicinity also flocked into the capital city. Consequently it was rationed. In seasons of scarcity each household was given half a *man* of grain per day. Ferishtah's statement is a little different. He says that in times of drought every purchaser was required to buy just the quantity he needed, and if somebody bought even half a *man* more than his needs, he was severely punished.¹⁶ Baranī's statement is more acceptable on the ground that half a *man*¹⁷ (approximately 6 or 7 *sers*) per day was a reasonable quantity in those days for a normal family with one or two servants. Rich persons of the town who had no villages or fields to fall back upon in unfavourable seasons were also given a fixed quantity of grain for their requirements.

¹⁶ Ferishtah p. 112.

¹⁷ Baranī clearly says (p. 309)

نیمگان میں عام خریداران مندرہ را دادندی -

But in those days there were no ration cards nor were people numbered or counted for obtaining grain in fixed quantities. It seems that whosoever went to the *bazār* was given a reasonable quantity of grain. Baranī says that during the seasons of drought poor and helpless people crowded in the *bazārs* and sometimes got crushed to death. In such cases, where the officers were found derelict in discharging their duty, they, as well as the superintendent of the market, were taken to task by the king.¹⁸ The chronicler does not say much about the poor people or if there was any provision for the free distribution of grain in times of scarcity. It appears, however, that no such concessions were given to anybody as the prices of food grains were already sufficiently cheap. The system of rationing was a novel idea of 'Alāuddīn¹⁹, and Baranī asserts that on account of the various regulations of 'Alāuddīn no famine occurred in Delhi even when there was drought and people thought famine to be unavoidable. At least in Delhi the people lived a life of contentment, undisturbed by any fear of scarcity.

Ferishtah's statement that the prices fixed for Delhi were obtained in other parts of the country as well,²⁰ is very doubtful. Firstly, it was very difficult in those days to fix a uniform price of food grains and other articles all over the empire. Even in the 20th century, with all the elaborate system of transport and communications, a uniform system of price control has not been possible in India. In the 14th century conditions were still more unfavourable. Secondly, Baranī always talks only of the capital city while describing

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 309.

¹⁹ According to Dr. Moti Chand rationing was resorted to ameliorate conditions of famine in ancient India. (*Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, vol. XIX December, 1945). That may be so, but 'Alāuddīn's scheme was quite novel so far as Muslim rule in India is concerned.

²⁰ Ferishtah p. 112.

rationing and price control, and his statements are more trustworthy than Ferishtah's. Baranī was living in 'Alā'uddīns days, Ferishtah was not.

The Market Officials.

Such an elaborate system of market control under which prices of articles were fixed, the merchants registered, and profiteering and speculation strictly forbidden, could not be worked without a large and efficient staff of officials. 'Alā'uddīn appointed Malik Qabūl, who was a trustworthy servant of Ulugh Khan and whom Baranī credits with wisdom, discretion, and trustworthiness, as *shahnah* or superintendent of the market. He was granted a large estate and was given a large body of cavalry and infantry to help him in the discharge of his duties. His powers were extensive and he was put in charge of all the travelling-merchants of the city. He saw to it that they regularly brought grain to the grain market, sold it at rates fixed by the crown and that nothing was hoarded or sold in the black-market. He used to report to the Sultan about prices prevailing in the market and also about the general condition of the *bazār*. His reports were verified through other sources which would be mentioned below; and if there was even a little difference between the reports of the superintendent and other officials of the *bazār*, a thorough enquiry was conducted to find out the cause of discrepancy and the defaulters were severely punished. The *shahnah*, who held a high position and big estates, was in constant dread of the sultan, and was liable to be taken to task for any delinquency. He tried his utmost to see that nothing happened in the market against the orders or wishes of the sultan lest the wrath of the king should fall on him. In spite of his high authority in the market, Malik Qabūl could not suggest a single amendment or change in the king's orders. When once or twice in seasons of drought he requested the sultan to raise a little the price of grain. he was

awarded twenty cuts. Consequently the superintendent could not afford to be anything but an extremely harsh and strict officer. He moved about in the grain market whipping the fraudulent merchants publicly. The strictness of the *shah-nah* compelled the market people to be honest in their dealings.

Other officials of the grain market were the *barid-i-mandī*, who reported the quality of the wares, and the *munhuyāns* who may be compared to the secret service police of to-day. These officials were inferior to the *shah-nah-i-mandī* in status, but they submitted their reports separately and directly to the sultan and not through the *shah-nah*. Thus the shrewd monarch received reports of the market from three different sources and scrutinized them carefully. This compelled the market officials to be correct in their accounts and honest in their dealings. The traders also could not deviate from the market regulations, since they would not receive any favour from a single officer.

The Cloth Market.

Next to food, the other important item of price control was cloth. In fact the sultan established separate markets for all the commodities needed by the soldier. There was a horse market, a slave market, markets for cattle and for sweets, spices, fruits, weapons, shoes etc. Ziyāuddīn Baranī describes in detail the condition of the Cloth Market, the administration of which was regulated on the lines of the Grain Market. Just as Malik Qabūl was appointed *shah-nah* of the Grain Market one Yāqūb was appointed as *Dīvān-i-Riyāsāt* to control the Cloth Market, but his jurisdiction extended to other markets also. The Sultan had given him the post of *Dīvān-i-Riyāsāt* in addition to his duties as *Nāzīr* (Superintendent *Dārogha*) and *Muhtasib* (Censor of Public Morals) of the empire.²¹

²¹ Baranī p. 317.

Thus his powers were very extensive indeed, and although Malik Qabūl was all in all in the Grain Market, he was in reality subordinate to Yāqūb in rank, since Baranī at one place says that Yāqūb appointed *shahnahs* for each of the various markets in the town.²² The Divān-i-Riyāsāt was "not only trustworthy and upright but also ill-tempered, hard, close, cruel and coarse." The respect and obedience he commanded on account of his position as well as temper, and the severe punishments he freely inflicted upon the bazār people, improved the tone of transactions in the markets.

The Cloth Market was located in the building known as the Sarai 'Adl. It was established "inside the Badaon gate, in the direction of Kaushak-i-Sabz, which for years had not been used." The Sarai 'Adl was open from early morning till late in the night, the hour of the last prayer. The public, therefore, could buy wares any time during the day. It was the only market in the town which dealt in cloth, since no trader was permitted to sell his goods secretly or at prices higher than those fixed by the sultan. Those who dared to contravene this regulation were severely punished and their goods lapsed to the crown. Ziyāuddīn gives a long list of silk and cotton cloths, the prices of which were fixed by the crown. It is difficult to ascertain the prices of cloths now because the measure and currency of those days cannot be calculated in modern money, and also because in many cases the contemporary chronicler does not give measure of the cloth whose price he mentions. He simply mentions the name of the stuff and its price without mentioning any specific measure. But it is well-nigh certain that cloth was not cheap in those days. While wheat was sold at $7\frac{1}{2}$ *jīṭals* per *man*; a *chādar*, obviously of ordinary size, was sold at 10 *jīṭals*. Long-cloth of good quality, twenty

²² Ibid. p. 318.

yards in length, was sold for one *tankah*. It is the only thing for which Baranī gives a measure. Shaikh Naṣiruddīn Chirāgh, writing in *Khairulmajālis* says that in the time of 'Alāuddīn a quilt (*lihāf*) could be made in one or two *tankahs*. He gives the details of various stuffs needed in its preparation. The upper piece (*fard*) could be had for 20 *jītāls*, border of ordinary quality for 30 *jītāls*, cotton and lower piece (*astar*) for 12 *jītāls*. Carding and sewing meant a further cost of 4 to 6 *jītāls*. Compared with to-day cotton cloth was fairly cheap. But at another place the Shaikh writes that in those days a whole feast could be arranged in one *tankah*. Compared with food, therefore, cloth of even ordinary quality was not cheap in those times.

The prices of silk cloths were very high indeed. Delhi *Khazz* was sold for 16 *tankahs*, almost a whole month's pay of a soldier; *Silahtī*, an ordinary cotton cloth, which is known to this day and which was cheap in the time of Akbar,²³ was sold at 6 *tankahs*. The fact that 'Alāuddīn controlled the price of cloth and gave advance to merchants to import goods into Delhi, shows that cloth was still dearer before the Sultan issued the regulations. Baranī relates that a regulation was introduced whereby people were stopped from buying silk stuffs at cheap rates in Delhi and selling them at prices four or five times higher outside Delhi. This clearly means that outside the metropolis the price of cloth was still higher. The following cloths and their controlled prices have been given by Baranī :—

Delhi <i>Khazz</i> silk.....	16	tankahs.
Orange colour raw silk.....	6	„ .
Half Silks, mixed with hair.....	3	„ .
<i>Shirīn Bāft</i> fine.....	5	„ .
„ „ „ middling.....	3	„ .
„ „ „ coarse.....	2	„ .

²³ Blochmann: *Ain-i-Akbarī*, p. 95.

<i>Silāhtī</i> fine.....	6	<i>tankahs.</i>
„ „ „ middling.....	4	„ .
„ „ „ coarse.....	2	„ .
Red striped stuffs.....	6	<i>jītals.</i>
Common stuffs.....	3½	„ .
Red lining of Nagor.....	24	„ .
Coarse lining.....	12	„ .
Long-cloth fine.....	1	<i>tankah</i> for 20 yards.
„ „ „ coarse.....	1	<i>tankah</i> for 40 yards.
Chādar.....	10	<i>jītals.</i>

The control of prices of cloth brought to the forefront the same problems which had cropped up in the case of food grains. The merchants were reluctant to sell their goods in Delhi, since they were not allowed as much profit as they were accustomed to. Moreover, they bought their goods in far off places at prices which surely were not controlled, they incurred expenses in transporting them to Delhi, and then they were expected to sell their articles in the capital at prices fixed by the Sultan. In the case of agricultural produce 'Alāuddīn could compel the cultivators in the *doāb* and other regions to sell grain to the travelling-merchants at regulated rates, but he could not compel manufacturers of far off places like Devagiri and Multan, and places beyond Multan in the north west,²⁴ to sell to merchants goods at fixed rates. Consequently the Sultan provided more facilities to cloth merchants than to those who imported grain into Delhi. So far as the registration was concerned every merchant whether Hindu or Musalman who traded in Delhi²⁵ was ordered to get his name registered with the *Dīvān-i-Riyāsāt*. He was also required

²⁴ E.g. Devagiri silks, horses, swords and other sundry articles were brought from far off places.

²⁵ Baranī says "merchants of the empire" but this seems to be an exaggeration. 'Alāuddīn was only concerned with Delhi where the prices were controlled.

to sign an agreement stipulating that he would bring a fixed quantity of goods in the city and sell them at controlled rates. The Sultan advanced money from the state treasury to the Multāni merchants to enable them to purchase commodities elsewhere and to sell them in the Sarai 'Adl at the controlled rates. The money advanced by the sultan amounted to about 2,000,000 *tankaḥs*. Ziyāuddīn does not say if the merchants were expected to return the same to the public exchequer. It would appear that as the money was advanced for buying commodities at higher rates outside, and selling them at cheaper and controlled rates in Delhi, the merchants could not be expected to return it. But the observation of Baranī that the king determined the prices of various goods leaving a fair margin of profit to the merchant²⁶ leads one to infer that the government money was returned by the merchant after his goods had been sold out. Ibn Battūṭah's statement makes the point clear. He says that the sultan abolished all taxes on merchandise, advanced money to merchants and told them: "with this money buy bullock and sheep, and sell them; the price that they will fetch must be paid to the treasury, and you shall receive allowance for selling them."²⁷ Thus it would appear that the Multāni merchants and other traders who were induced to trade in Delhi were not traders in the true sense of the term, selling goods at profitable rates; but they were virtually agents of the government. They were advanced money to buy goods abroad and sell them in Delhi, and they received remuneration for this service. It may be surmised that such transactions must have caused an immense loss to the state.

To put a stop to black-marketeering, restriction were imposed on the sale and purchase of high class fabrics. Silks were sold at high prices outside Delhi and there was danger of people's buying costly stuffs in the capital at controlled

²⁶ Baranī p. 316.

²⁷ Elliot, vol. III, p. 599.

rates and selling them at prices four or five times higher outside. Thus the evil of profiteering at the cost of the state loomed large. Some cases of profiteering on the part of public men were brought to the notice of the sultan, who was not slow to issue orders to counteract it. Accordingly nobody was allowed to buy costly stuffs as *tasbīḥ* and *Tabrezi*, Delhi foiselle silks (*khazz*), *kamkhubs*, *shashtari*, *harīrī*, Chinese, *Bhīram* and *Devagiri* silks, cloths embroidered with gold threads²⁸ and other similar articles, without first obtaining a permit from the *Divān-i-Riyāsat*. The *Divān* issued permits to *Maliks* and *Amirs* and other well-known persons with whose credentials he was satisfied. The purchaser had to give a written receipt in acknowledgement of the article bought by him and in this way any possibility of profiteering in the black market was eliminated.

Horse Market.

Rules were also framed to regulate the sale of horses, cattle and slaves. In medieval times cavalry was the most important branch of the army and horses were much valued. In Central Asia, among the *Mughals*, horse stealing was punished with death. In South India large amount of money was spent by Hindu *Rajas* to procure horses from countries like Arabia and *Qipchāq*. In North India horses of good breed were mostly imported from Arabia, Persia and Afghanistan, but the *Mughal* activities interrupted the course of trade and the price of horses rose high. But 'Alāuddīn could not allow a high price for any commodity needed by a soldier, and the price of horses was also regulated. Horses considered fit for military service²⁹ were divided into three grades according to their quality and breed. The price of the best

²⁸ Baranī p. 311.

اسامی (؟ اسپهائی) که بنام حشم در دیوان بگذازند -

²⁹ Baranī p. 313, has insert Persian quotation from note 28. By *Divān* here is meant *Divān-i-'Arz* اسامی is meaningless. It is in all probability اسپهائی

quality horse ranged from 100 to 120 *tankahs*, that of the second from 80 to 90 *tankahs*, and of the third from 65 to 70 *tankahs*. The horses which were not passed as fit for military service by the Divān, and which were known as *tatbūs* (ponies) were priced from 10 to 25 *tankahs*. To maintain these low prices 'Alāuddīn had to treat the horse brokers and middlemen very severely. He ordered that no dealer or his agent should be permitted to frequent the market with the intention of buying a horse for reselling it at a higher price. But it was not very easy to bring them under control. *Dal-lāls* or middlemen are even to-day one of the most cunning and unmanageable section of the *mandī* people. In those days, declares Ziyāuddīn, "brokers and middlemen were a most arrogant, rebellious and audacious class of people." They were wont to take commission both from the purchaser and the seller in every transaction, and had so complicated the business that no transaction could be effected without their mediation. Virtually, they were the "Kings of the market." Consequently it was with some difficulty that the sultan could bring the brokers to book. He instituted very harsh measures to put an end to the nefarious *dallāls*, who for years had earned their livelihood on high bidding and speculation. Those who still persisted in their old ways were incarcerated with life long imprisonment. It was no longer possible for the merchants and brokers to prevaricate or speak lies, and the price of horses fixed by the sultan began to obtain in the city.

'Alāuddīn used to send for inspection after every six weeks or two months horses of every variety to ascertain that each variety was sold at the price specified for it. If any variation was detected the brokers had to suffer penalties and punishments. Fear kept the brokers vigilant and prevented them from trading upon the simplicity of customers. In this way the king was successful in establishing fixed prices for horses of every variety.

On lines similar to these were fixed the prices of slaves and cattle. In medieval times slaves of both sexes, like any other commodity, were sold in the market and the sultan fixed prices for them also. The standard price of a working girl was fixed at from 5 to 12 *tankahs*, and that of a good-looking girl from 20 to 30 and even to 40 *tankahs*. If a very beautiful slave girl of a very high price, say of 100 or 200 *tankahs*, was offered for sale in the market, nobody dared to buy her for fear of the *munhiyāns* (secret police), lest the king should be informed that a particular person was rich enough to pay so high a price for a slave girl. The prices of boys were fixed from 20 to 30 *tankahs*. The slave-boys were classified according to their looks and working capacity. As was the case with the horse market, in the slave market also it was not possible for the dealers and monied men to go about showing or seeing slave boys or girls or tampering with their prices. The punishments inflicted on brokers for contravening the orders of the king were very severe and Baranī exaggeratingly, though not untruthfully, says that such penalties were inflicted on the brokers that even life became distasteful to them, and they longed for death.

Similar regulations were introduced in the cattle market also. A good beast of burden which was sold for 40 *tankahs* in the reign of Muḥammad Tughlaq or of Firōz, used to be sold for 4 or at the most 5 *tankahs* in the time of 'Alāuddīn. A cow for slaughtering was sold at a *tankah* and a half while a milk cow was sold at 3 to 4 *tankahs*. The price of a cow or buffalo in milk averaged from 10 to 12 *tankahs*.

So much about the large markets. It has been pointed out before that 'Alāuddīn fixed the price of each and every commodity however trifling. It was a matter of policy also. It was useless to control the price of foodstuffs if sweets or things prepared from them were not controlled. The prices of different commodities are interconnected. For example, if the prices of wheat, *ghī* and sugar are controlled, and the price

of sweets is left uncontrolled, the control is not complete. Thus the prices for *karisah*, *reoṛī*, sugar-candy, puddings, vegetables, bread, combs, slippers, shoes, cups, pitchers, goblets, needle, betelnuts and even betel were fixed.

Means of enforcing orders.

It was not easy to force all these regulations down the throats of tradesman—wholesale dealers as well as retailers, who for long had been enjoying liberal profits. But the state exigency forced the king to see that his orders were faithfully carried out. Upon effective enforcement of his orders depended the efficiency and happiness of his armed forces, the safety of the state against foreign aggressors and the glory of the crown through conquests.

A schedule of the prices of different commodities was prepared and a reasonable profit was allowed to the seller.³⁰ Since this margin was determined according to the wishes of the king without any consultation with the merchants, it may safely be surmised that it was not very high. The schedule was forwarded to the Divān-i-Riyāsāt, whose duty it was to enforce it in the market. Malik Yāqūb; the Divān-i-Riyāsāt, or the Inspector General of all the markets in Delhi, appointed *shahnahs* or magistrates for various markets dealing with various commodities. The *shahnahs* had full jurisdiction over their markets and were directly responsible to the king. The status of a *shahnah* was high as can well be imagined from the instance of Malik Qabūl. Each *shahnah* received a copy of the schedule of rates for his market. The superintendents were instructed to enquire from the purchasers what they had paid for a particular ware, and were to note down their statements to verify if the prices charged were not in contravention of the scheduled ones. If the market people were found to be selling things at higher

³⁰ Barani p. 316.

prices they were at once taken to task. The appointment of a *shahnah* for each market was extremely conducive to keeping prices low.

The powers vested in the market officials were very extensive. They coerced, whipped and tyrannized over the traders in every way. But in most cases *bazār* people were themselves responsible for the harsh treatment meted out to them. Even in the 20th century the traders in corn and vegetable *mandīs* are sometimes so contumacious and refractory that it becomes difficult to control them. They treat the simple villagers harshly, and not unusually force them to sell corn and vegetables at cheap rates. The ignorant village people, who come to large towns in the hope of making some profit, fall an easy prey to the tall-talks of the non-chalant brokers, whose advice is sometimes conveyed through sweet words, at others in threatening gestures. Even the educated shop-keepers of to-day do not refrain from charging a higher price than the one fixed by the government, and it is the fear of huge fines and rigorous imprisonment that deters them from illegal profiteering. In short, the town-traders exploit the ignorance of both the village and town people to their best advantage. As pointed out above the conditions in the 14th century were far worse. Ziyāuddīn calls the businessmen of his day as being shameless and cunning. They tried to defraud people by whatever means they could. He declares that they were the greatest liars among the seventy two sections of the people (living in the world).³¹ Describing the *dallāls* of his day he says that prior to enforcement of government regulations they determined prices and defrauded both the buyer and the seller. It was a saying of the kings of old, continues the chronicler, that it was easier to clear a jungle or to subjugate distant lands than to bring under control the refractory *bazār* people. Selling at high prices and giving

³¹ Baranī p. 343.

short weights were their common habits, and they did all this in spite of the barbarous punishments inflicted upon them for the slightest offence.

'Alāuddīn ordered most severe punishments for contravention of his orders regarding price-control. Even in these days a fine of a few thousand rupees is levied or rigorous imprisonment for some months is awarded to a shopkeeper who is found to have sold an article for even a few annas above the controlled rate. Six centuries back the traders were perhaps as persistent in their cunning, while the punishments more severe. It was ordered that the Nāẓir Yāqūb should ill-treat and administer lashes to guilty traders. In cases of short-weight he used to cut off flesh from the haunches of traders, equal to the deficiency in weight. The harshness of Yāqūb was talked about everywhere among the young and the old. Every day the Nāẓir used to inquire about the transactions of the *bazārs* several times, and on the discovery of the slightest discrepancy he whipped the traders mercilessly.³² Notwithstanding his harshness the merchants continued to cheat the customers, and it was found that short-weight trick was commonly practised when little boys came to purchase things in the market. To detect the mischief the sultan used to call young slave-boys from his pigeon houses, give them some *jitals*³³ and send them to the market place, asking one to bring bread, another to bring *halvā*, a third *yakhnī*, a fourth *reorī* a fifth melon, a sixth cucumber and so on, and when these boys returned after their purchases the sultan sent for the *Divān-i-Riyāsat* and had the articles brought by the boys weighed in his presence. If any thing was found to be deficient in weight it was given to the *Divān-i-Riyāsat*, who at once proceeded to the shop from where the articles had

³² Baranī p. 318.

³³ *Ibid.* p. 318 wrongly has *dīram* which coin probably then did not exist.

been brought. A quantity of flesh equal to the deficiency in weight was cut from the haunches of the fraudulent seller, and he was kicked out of his shop. Such drastic punishments seem to have been meted out only to habitual offenders. The horrible punishments introduced by 'Alāuddīn continued to be awarded for some time, says the historian, till at last the tradesmen became quite submissive and discontinued giving short weights. Not only that, they were so much terrified with these drastic measures that sometimes they gave much more than the actual weight.

Now, this was the other extreme. If profiteering and selling short weight and cheating the purchasers in various ways deserved discouragement, the extremely severe punishments which led the shopkeepers to weigh more than the actual quantity indicates a lack of far-sightedness on the part of the king. How long could trade flourish under conditions in which the shopkeepers worked without getting sufficient profits. The market regulations of 'Alāuddīn did not permit enough profit to the tradespeople and consequently lent no encouragement to trade and commerce. The king did not permit even the least flexibility in prices and if hope of gain is lacking there can be no incentive to trade. Moreover, the regulations which hardly benefitted the traders were forced down their throats. Even after giving due consideration to the exaggeration in which Barani is prone to indulge, the facts that such severe penalties were inflicted on brokers in horse, cattle and slave markets, that even life became so distasteful to them and they longed for death, and deficiency in weights was made up by slicing off an equivalent quantity of flesh from the person of shopkeepers, clearly show that the market people must have been disgusted. That there was no encouragement to trade is clearly borne out by the fact that the merchants carrying on trade in food stuffs as well as other commodities were *compelled* to take up their abodes in Delhi. They had to sign agreements making them individually and collectively

responsible for one another's good conduct, and the authority of state officials extended even over their wives and children.⁸⁴ It can well be surmised how the merchants would have chafed under the rigorous regulations of the monarch and how they would have rejoiced to see such a state of affairs come to an end.

Not only trade and commerce but agriculture was also affected. It has been pointed out at length in the preceding chapter how the revenue regulations of the king as well as his economic measures were harmful to agriculturists. Here it may be pointed out once again that these regulations rendered the condition of peasantry almost hopeless. Mr. Moreland thinks that the revenue regulations of the sultan were meant to crush the rich middlemen and not the poor peasants or the "herds" as such, but one fails to understand how the poor peasantry could be happy under the market regulations. It is conceivable that the realization of 50 per cent. of the land produce in kind was not meant to oppress the peasants but to store grain in the capital city. Yet when a husbandman paid half of his hard earned produce in land tax, some portion of the remaining in other sundry duties, and then was compelled to sell his grain at cheap rates to travelling merchants, who on their part were helped by government officials in obtaining their stocks, it does not speak well of the general condition of the peasantry of those days. There is no doubt that the cultivators were relieved of the drudgery of taking their grain into grain markets of big cities lying in the vicinity of their fields, and were saved from falling a victim to the seductions of the profiteering middlemen and speculators, still they could never be happy in selling their grain at a cheap price fixed by the government without having the choice of selecting a market for themselves and trying

⁸⁴ Baranī pp. 306-7, 310-11.

for a profit. The temptation of making profit, which is the greatest incentive to production, was completely checked by 'Alāuddīn's market regulations and the peasants seem to have lived a life of monotony and low standard, if not of squalor. The motive of the sultan may not have been to crush the poor peasants against whom he could possibly have no grudge, but the exigencies of the state required him to take such steps under which the interests of commerce and cultivation were sacrificed to those of the army. A peasant is not always a hoarder; he will not hoard if he is given a fair price for his produce. Just for the sake of safety he stores up some grain as security against bad seasons, but even that was denied to him, and every *man* of available grain was transferred to the Grain Market of Delhi. The stores of the sultan continued to increase so that Ibn Battūṭah ate the rice which had been stored by sultan 'Alāuddīn. The rice had become dark in colour but had preserved its taste. This fact alone shows that the government had hoarded a large quantity of grain, much above the needs of the state, so much so that it was available even three decades after the death of the king.

It is obvious that neither agriculture nor trade and commerce could flourish under the regulations of 'Alāuddīn. But the fostering of agriculture and trade were not his motives either. To him the prime necessity of the state was the maintenance of a huge army, sufficient to repel Mongol invasions as well as to subdue independent chiefs of India. There is no doubt that the benefits of market regulations were enjoyed by the civil as well as the military population of Delhi,—a fact about which Baranī does not forget to make a special mention,⁸⁵ still the agriculturists of the doāb and of tracts in the vicinity of Delhi, of Jhain and of Bayana, suffered

⁸⁵ Baranī p. 304.

privations for the benefit of the people at the capital. The tradesmen also did not gain much and worked under compulsion. But 'Alāuddīn was not learned enough to philosophise on the benefits of a far distant future and to foster trade, commerce and agriculture. He thought he was called upon to act and he acted vigorously. He invariably sacrificed civil interests to those of military. In the reign of no other king were the Mughal invasions so persistent as in the time of 'Alāuddīn. In the reign of no other king of the sultanate period were conquests made on such a large scale. Under these circumstances if all his reforms and regulations were directed towards the benefit of the army, it is not at all surprising. And how many renowned Turkish kings of India could afford to keep the happiness and prosperity of the peasants and traders above those of the army? Necessity, religious zeal and personal ambition, rendered the glory of conquest much more appealing to them than the glory of making such laws as would make the peasants rich and traders richer. 'Alāuddīn was no exception. It is, therefore, not surprising that he put military necessities above civil ones and raised such a strong and contended army, that, whether at home or in foreign kingdoms, it always defeated its adversaries.

The most remarkable feature of the economic regulations is the success with which they were carried out. Appointment of *shahmahs* for the various markets, appointment of *barīds*, and the secret and efficient service of the *munhiyans*, all independent of one another and all responsible to the king, improved the tone of administration. No officer, however highly placed, could neglect his duties or play false, because the sultan was constantly informed about everything through his secret service agents. The *Dīvān-i-Riyāsat*, inflicted drastic punishments on the *bazār* people and did not permit any breach of the orders of the government. Coercion, compulsion and terrorization were the methods adopted by the officers with regard to market administration. But

the character and conduct of the market people, as described by Baranī, justified to a considerable extent the harsh means the sultan resorted to. If the chronicler is to be believed, 'Alāuddīn had undertaken the economic measures after consulting his trusty and experienced councillors and ministers. He had asked their opinion as to what he should do in order that the means of livelihood might be made exceedingly cheap "without introducing capital punishment, torture and severe coercion." But he had to banish brokers and torture tradespeople to see that his orders were carried out once they had been issued. Had the traders been more honest and the king less severe, perhaps the tortures inflicted on the *bazār* people would have been avoided.

Except for the traders themselves, the people of Delhi at least benefitted by these regulations. Prices were rendered cheap and stable. In times of scarcity there was no danger of famine in the capital city. The terrible famines of the time of Sultan Jalāluddīn and Muḥammad Tughlāq are not heard of in the reign of 'Alāuddīn, because the capital at least was never short of food; and if famine occurred in some isolated or distant part of the country it surely escaped the notice of the contemporary chronicler.

'Alāuddīn's market regulations died with him. "The rules, the inquiries, the strictness with which the orders were carried out, and the punishments inflicted on the market people came to an end with the death of 'Alāuddīn, and his son Quṭbuddīn could not enforce all the thousand regulations of the 'Alāi' reign."⁸⁶ This was but expected. After the death of 'Alāuddīn there was neither the will of the successor nor was there any necessity of enforcing them. Quṭbuddīn was not so fond of conquests as of concubines, and the military traditions of 'Alāuddīn lost their lustre at the hands of

⁸⁶ Baranī p. 319.

his successor. Moreover, the Mughal storm had subsided, and there was no need of maintaining a large force to encounter their incursions. Consequently, there was no need of controlling prices for recruiting a large army on small salary. Market Control was a temporary measure, resorted to in a state of exigency. When that exigency was over the regulations were also permitted to fall in disuse.

CHAPTER XVIII

LAST DAYS OF 'ALAUDDIN

Notwithstanding the various measures the sultan had undertaken for strengthening his state and notwithstanding the brilliant victories Malik Kāfūr was achieving in the south as late as the year 1313, the government of 'Alāuddīn was gradually losing in strength and stability. As the health of the king was deteriorating with advancing age, his passion for centralization of power in his own hands was increasing. Like Aurangzēb in his old age, 'Alāuddīn also would listen to no advice, would tolerate no opposition. In contrast to his early years when he had able counsellors like 'Alāulmulk, Nuṣrat Khan and Ulugh Khan, he had only favourites and flatterers now at the close of his reign. In addition to this he had become extremely peevish and suspicious. It is, therefore, not surprising that it was during his last days that the appalling massacre of the neo-Muslims took place. Conversion of jagīrs into crown-lands had already rendered many a Mughal destitute. Some of the ex-servicemen had obtained employment under high officials and barons, but most of them had been left unemployed. These disgruntled souls accused the Sultan of tyrannising over the people, of forcibly seizing money, of imposing prohibition and instituting various kinds of heavy taxes. They had also shown resentment at the execution of Abaji Mughal during Kāfūr's expedition to M'abar. Confident of the support of the neo-Muslims in the army and the approval of the people in general, who would obtain deliverance from the tyranny of the Sultan,² they plotted to assassinate the

¹ *Futūḥ*. p. 291.

² Baranī, p. 365.

king. The plot was discovered and the rage of the Sultan flared up. It was ordered that on an appointed day all the Mughals should be killed wherever they were found, and "their wives and children should be handed over to their assassins."³ The orders were carried out to the very letter and some twenty to thirty thousand Mughals, most of whom had no knowledge of the plot, were ruthlessly massacred. Although not without reason, still, the neo-Muslims were extirpated with horrible barbarity and nothing can justify the inhuman way in which the whole section of them—innocent or guilty—were exterminated.

Such tyranny on the one hand and the disgraceful attachment to his favourites on the other, had affected the Sultan's prestige. His infatuation for the eunuch Kāfūr had made the latter the most powerful man in the country; and as the king's health rapidly declined this mean and ungrateful wretch committed innumerable crimes to serve his own selfish ends. With the removal from office of Maliks Ḥamīduddīn and A'izzuddīn and with the assassination of Sharf Qayīnī, the departments of Revenue (Dīvān-i-Vuzrā), Finance (Dīvān-i-Risālat) and Correspondence (Dīvān-i-Inshā) were altogether ruined. Talented officers were removed from service and in their stead unworthy clerks and despicable sycophants disgraced the honourable offices allotted to them.⁵ A nincompoop like Bahāuddīn Dabīr was made 'Umdatul Mulk.⁶ If one or two able men like Malik Qīrān, the Amīr-i-Shikār, and Malik Qīrā Bēg commanded some respect, they neither held a high office nor power at the court. Thus, while the king had concentrated all power in his own hands, no wise person was left to offer opinion on knotty problems.

³ Ibid. pp. 335-36.

⁴ This is Baranī's figure. Ferishtah has 14 to 15 thousand. Ferishtah, p. 120.

⁵ Baranī pp. 334, 337.

⁶ Ibid. p. 337.

Weddings of Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan.

The decline of the government became rapid after the marriages of the royal princes. In 1312 Shamsul Haqq, surnamed Khizr Khan, the eldest son of the king, was married to the daughter of Alp Khan, governor of Gujarat and brother of the Malka-i-Jahān. But Khizr Khan was never happy with this marriage. He had fallen in love with Deval Rani, daughter of Rai Karan of Gujarat. The strange circumstances under which she had been captured in the south have been related before.⁷ Since then she had lived with her mother Kamla Devi in the royal palace where Khizr Khan fell in love with her. This fact was soon discovered; but since Māhrū, the darling of 'Alāuddin's younger days, was keen on marrying her son to the daughter of her brother, it was decided to separate the two. Deval Devi was sent to the Qasr-i-Lal with her friends. Tongue-tied with bashfulness, Khizr Khan did not say a word in protest, and Malka-i-Jahān after making elaborate preparations and inviting Rajas⁸ and governors from distant parts of the empire married her eldest son to the daughter of Alp Khan on 23rd of Ramzān 711 (February 4th, 1312).

Khizr Khan, however, could not forget his object of love. He kept away from his wife and used to meet Deval secretly. His health began to deteriorate and Māhrū grew anxious about her son. Thinking it advisable not to risk the life of her son for the sake of her brother's daughter, Malka-i-

⁷ According to Khusrau Deval Rani was only six months old at the time of the first invasion of Gujarat, 1299. (*Deval Rani* p. 82). He confirms this statement by saying at another place that she was eight years when captured (p. 93). According to Ferishtah she was four years when she was separated from her mother in 1299 (*Ferishtah* pp. 116-17). There is no reason to accept Ferishtah's statement against that of the contemporary Khusrau.

⁸ According to 'Isami Ram Deva of Devagiri was invited to this function. *Futūh*. p. 316.

Jahān obtained 'Alāúddīn's permission to marry Khizr Khan to Deval Devi.

About this time Ram Deva of Devagiri died and his son assumed an attitude of hostility. Malik Naib Kāfūr was despatched to crush the rebel. During his absence in the Deccan Alp Khan and Malka-i-Jahān gained ascendancy at the court. Māhrū began to make preparations for the marriage of her second son Shadī Khan with the second daughter of her brother. The king was keeping indifferent health, but Malka-i-Jahān was bent upon celebrating the nuptials. She sent out invitations to governors and nobles in far off provinces. Malik Kāfūr also came to the capital, where prince Shadī was married to the daughter of Alp Khan with great eclat. On this occasion Deval Devi was also given in marriage to Khizr Khan, whose days of torturous separation were over. These marriages took place some time during the years 1313 and 1314.

Meanwhile the health of the Sultan began to take a turn for the worse. The last three years of his life were full of bitterness and anguish. His inordinate ambition and his passion for glory had entailed hard and strenuous work. Added to this were his irregular habits and his extreme sensuousness.⁹ All this had severely told upon his bodily vigour. Naturally his hand began to lose control of administration. His favourites on the one hand and able and worthy men on the other began to entertain ideas of animosity. Alp Khan and Kāfūr were ranged in opposition. To all outward appearances the former was gaining strength. He had given proof of his talents on various occasions. He had administered the province of Gujarat for the past fifteen years and was very popular with the people there. He was the real brother of the chief queen of the realm and was also in the good books of the sultan. He had two royal princes as his sons-in-law,

⁹ Ferishtah p. 122.

the elder of whom had been declared heirapparent to the throne by the Sultan, who to ensure Khizr Khan's accession after his own death had obtained written promises from all the barons of the state.¹⁰ Thus the position of Alp Khan at the capital was quite strong. Naturally, Malik Naib Kāfūr, who wielded great influence with the king, felt alarmed at this state of affairs. Captured in the sack of Gujarat in 1299, he had all along enjoyed the affections of the Sultan and had risen from post to post until he became the Vazīr. He was commander of the forces that went to the Deccan several times between 1308 and 1313. So brilliant were his achievements that 'Alāuddīn, highly impressed with his capabilities, appointed him viceroy of the Deccan, with headquarters at Devagiri.¹¹ It was on the occasion of the marriage of the royal princes that he was called to Delhi, where he found the royal consort, her brother Alp Khan and prince Khizr Khan in great ascendancy. An ambitious general like Kāfūr, who of late had been the only guiding spirit of the king, could now know well that he was lost if he did not stir betimes.

Murder of Alp Khan.

The malady of the king was getting more and more serious. He was suffering from dropsy and other physical disorders.¹² On account of his disease and other mental in-

¹⁰ Baranī pp. 367-68.

خضر خان را و لیدعهد ملک خود گردانید و عهد نامہ
نویسا نید و دستخط ازان کل ملوک دران بستد -

¹¹ Vide chapter XII.

¹² According to Baranī, 'Alāuddīn was suffering from dropsy (استسقا) and according to Khusrau from fever. Ferishta, however, writes that the sultan had developed a very dangerous disease on account of excessive sexual indulgence (p. 122). It is probable that he was suffering from dropsy for a long time and when he was about to die had developed fever also, which is very natural.

firmities that follow in the train of advancing years, he had become weak and peevish. When Malik Naib returned from the Deccan the sultan related to him the tale of his woes,—how he had been neglected by Malka-i-Jahān and Khizr Khan. Māhrū, complained the ailing king, was ever busy with marriages and other ceremonies in the *haram*, while Khizr Khan, having obtained his most cherished Deval was ever immersed in music and mirth and cared little about the king or the court. Here was a golden opportunity for Malik Kāfūr, who was as mean as he was talented, to poison the ears of the Sultan against all those whom he considered his arch enemies. One day when Kāfūr was in a private audience with 'Alāuddīn he bitterly complained against his alleged enemies and said that they wanted to put an end to his life simply because he was favoured by the king. They only waited for the sultan's death when they would assassinate him. As 'Alāuddīn gave Kāfūr a patient hearing, the latter continued his plaintive rhetoric and accused Alp Khan of being the source of all the trouble. He said that Alp Khan had influence with the queen and the royal princes and that was the reason why he was reluctant to go back to his iqtā' in *Gujarat*. He was simply waiting to usurp all power as soon as the sultan's eyes were closed for ever. If Alp Khan could be killed, concluded Kāfūr, there would be no fear for him from the princes.¹³ Despite 'Alāuddīn's kindness to Kāfūr, says 'Iṣāmī, he refused to listen to the false accusations levelled against the faithful governor, and said that he did not suspect anything from him.¹⁴ But Malik Kāfūr knew how to do away with Alp Khan since the king was bedridden and was unable even to move. One day when Alp Khan was entering the royal apartments Malik Naib and

¹³ *Futūḥ* pp. 329-30.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 330.

Malik Kamāluddin seized him and murdered him in cold blood.¹⁵

Alp Khan's death cleared the way for Malik Naib's unchallenged ascendancy—his position had been unassailable even before. The king was now seriously ill and Naib Kāfur himself transacted all business of the state in the king's name. Prince Khizr Khan was the next victim of Malik Kāfur's maliciousness. The critical condition of the king had alarmed everybody in the palace. In spite of proper and regular treatment he was not showing any signs of improvement. Fervent prayers were offered for his recovery and his loving son Khizr Khan took a vow to go on foot on pilgrimage to the shrines of the saints at Hastanapur when his father recovered from his malady. Curiously enough 'Alāuddīn showed some signs of recovery and the prince in fulfilment of his promise went on foot to Hastanapur. In his great joy he went to the place of pilgrimage accompanied by a troupe of musicians and dancers. Malik Kāfur, who was in the look out for a pretext, cunningly misrepresented the intentions of the prince and told the king that while he was lying ill Khizr Khan was going on pleasure trips.¹⁶ He forthwith wrote a royal *firmān* in the name of the king saying therein that since Khizr Khan would surely have been troubled at the death of his maternal uncle and father-in-law, it would be better for him to go out for sport in place of returning to the capital. It was, therefore, ordered that Khizr Khan should proceed to Amroha and should not return to Delhi until he was asked to do so. In the mean time he should send without any objection all the insignia of royalty.

¹⁵ *Futūh* p. 331. *T.M.S.* p. 80.

Malik Naib also sent Malik Kamāluddin Gurg to Jalor to finish Alp Khan's brother Malik Nizāmuddin Ulugh Khān who was the governor of that place (*Ferishtah* p. 123).

¹⁶ *Deval Rani* pp. 236-37.

the *chatr* and *durbash*, which would be returned to him on his return.¹⁷

When the royal order reached Khizr Khan he was taken aback. With a sad heart he surrendered all the insignia of royalty to Malik Hisāmuddīn and himself proceeded to Amroha. There was no peace of mind for him now. He could not make out why his father was so much incensed with him. Suddenly he decided to go back to Delhi and beg pardon for all his faults from the king. Day and night did he travel to reach the capital, writes the poet-historian Khusrau, and on his arrival there apologized to his father. 'Alāuddīn was extremely delighted to see his son beside him. He embraced him and pardoned him for all his shortcomings. Shamsul Haqq went to the royal *haram*, met his relations, and forgot his past privations.

Khizr Khan had been brought up in the school of love and not of adversity. Born with a silver spoon in his mouth he displayed the indolent security of hereditary princes. Naturally he could not understand the machinations of Malik Kāfūr. Malik Naib on his part was bent upon clearing his path of all possible rivals for real power. Once more he began to poison the ears of the sultan against the royal prince. He said that while the sultan was seriously ill the prince had come back from Amroha without receiving any orders and was planning with Malka-i-Jahān to seize the throne. 'Alāuddīn, who had seldom permitted anybody to tutor him with impunity, had, owing to infirmity of age and disease, become a tool in the hands of his favourite Vazīr Hazārdīnārī. He

¹⁷ *Deval Rani* p. 236. To Amīr Khusrau, a devout disciple of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Aulia, all this calamity befell Khizr Khan because he had failed to pay his respects to the shaikh while going to Hastanapur. According to Ibn Battutah Khizr Khan showed open resentment at the execution of Alp Khan which was done by the orders of the King. Alāuddīn did not like this attitude of Khizr Khan and sent him to Gwalior. *Ibn Battutah* vol III p. 188.

was led to believe that the prince was wasting all his time in the *haram* and did not care to nurse his ailing father. On this charge he was sent to be imprisoned in the Gwalior fort. If Amīr Khusrau is to be believed, the king wept bitterly when he bade farewell to his son, and said that fate and not the king was punishing him.¹⁸ It is pitiable to think how this man of action had become a fatalist in his old age and how his implacable justice had given way to things which to all appearances were wrong. Having obtained repeated assurances from Kāfūr that no harm would be done to the prince, 'Alāuddīn bade good bye to his son.¹⁹ Khizr Khan was sent as a state prisoner to Gwalior where his beloved Deval joined him to share his distress.²⁰ Khizr Khan's mother, the Malka-i-Jahān, the well-beloved Māhrū of 'Alāuddīn's days of youth, also could not escape the rapacity of the cruel eunuch and was kept a state prisoner in the Red Fort of Delhi.

While Kāfūr had gained unrivalled ascendancy at the capital, while he was killing generals like Alp Khan and imprisoning princes like Khizr Khan, in short, while he was playing almost the king, the affairs of the empire were drifting towards a chaos. The last phase of 'Alāuddīn's reign is characterized by a succession of revolts in the various provinces. Upon receiving the news of the murder of their favourite governor Alp Khan, the army of Gujarat unfurled the standard of revolt. Under the command of their leaders Haider and Vazīrak they resolved not to submit to any im-

¹⁸ *Deval Rani* p. 250.

¹⁹ According to Baranī (p. 372) Malik Kāfūr had obtained from the king a *firmān* setting aside the claims of Khizr Khan to the throne and giving it to his younger son Shihāb-uddīn. With this deed under his arms Kāfūr reigned after 'Alāuddīn's death in the name of Shihābuddīn, a boy of five or six years. For details see chapter XX.

²⁰ For the last days and death of Khizr Khan see chapter XX.

perial *firmān*.²¹ Malik Kamāluddīn Gurg was sent to Gujarat to quell the insurrection, but instead of being able to suppress the infuriated soldiery, he himself was ruthlessly killed. The affairs in Gujarat continued to be chaotic until the death of 'Alāuddīn. Insurrections broke out in Chittor also where Maldeva, the puppet of 'Alāuddīn, was constantly harassed by Hammīr, the ruler of Sesoda. In the Deccan Harpal Deva, son-in-law of Ram Deva, assumed independence at Devagiri and destroyed many royal outposts. The intelligence of these insurrections used to set the dying king's body aflame with rage. All his life-work seemed to be undone. Whatever he had conquered seemed to be lost. His eldest son was far away at Gwalior, his beloved wife was kept away from him and he was leaving the country more disturbed than he had found it. He had lived an extremely busy and tiresome life and from the disorders of dropsy and also perhaps from the fatal effects of the poison administered by Malik Kāfūr,²² 'Alāuddīn found refuge in a silent death on the 7th of Shavvāl 715 (January 6th., 1316).²³

²¹ *Futūh* pp. 332-33.

²² *Baranī* p. 369.

²³ This is the date of Amīr *Khusrāu* (*Deval Rani* p. 259) 'Isami has 11th Shavvāl (*Futūh* p. 336) Hajuddabīr has 6th (*Zafarul Vali* p. 828) but makes confusion with the year which he says to be 711 A.H. Baranī (p. 369) has 6th Shavvāl but does not give the year. *Vasāf* (p. 647) gives 716 A.H. as the year of 'Alāuddīn's death.

CHAPTER XIX

AN ESTIMATE OF 'ALĀUDDĪN

Before closing the study of 'Alāuddīn's reign, it would be proper to review his career as a man, and his achievements as an emperor. Ascending the throne at the age of thirty he had reached the apogee of power at forty-five through unrivalled skill, studied tact, and phenomenal energy. From nothingness he rose to be one of the greatest rulers of medieval times. With the help of a strong and disciplined army he pulled down native princes and stamped out sedition from the land. By a systematic tariff policy he controlled the fluctuating market, and with an efficient administrative machinery effectively governed the country for two decades.

Contemporary historians speak little about the king's personal features, but they throw sufficient light on his character and qualities. The sultan was almost without any literary education, though like Akbar and Ranjit Singh after him, he confirmed by example the Tennysonian dictum "that only those who cannot read can rule."¹ But though unlettered, 'Alāuddīn possessed sufficient commonsense, experience and wisdom which multiplied with age. Learned historians like Amīr Arslān Kulāhī, sincere nobles like 'Alāulmulk, and orthodox 'ulamas like Qāzī Muḡhī'suddīn were always ready to tender advice to him on important matters. 'Alāuddīn's early association with the veteran Malik 'Alāulmulk, who guided his feet to the throne, must also have con-

¹ Ziyāuddīn states that the sultan was utterly devoid of any education and could neither read nor write (Barani p. 262). Ferishta's assertion that in his later years he himself used to read the reports of the secret agents, is open to doubt, for the sultan could have got them read out by some one instead of personally perusing them.

tributed to his store of wordly wisdom, which he possessed in a considerable degree. 'Alāuddīn took pride in his counselor-generals Alp Khan, Nuṣrat Khan, Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan. In his later years he was influenced by the evil genius of Kāfūr. There is, however, no reason to think that the sultan was under the influence of any one of these. The life-story of 'Alāuddīn shows that he was a self-willed man, and did not listen to anybody's advice when he was determined on something; still, it is also true that he consulted his noblemen on perplexing problems and listened to their suggestions patiently.

The lack of love of learning, which imparts to a man elements of humanity and kindness, may be responsible for the callousness and cruelty inherent in 'Alāuddīn's nature. Every sentiment of kindness and clemency became extinct in the emperor's heart when anything harmful for the state was done. His punishments of the families of the mutineers at Jalor filled the heart of even a medieval chronicler like Baranī with shame and disgust. He writes that owing to his inherent cruelty, arrogance and harsh temperament, the sultan inflicted tyrannical punishments after the fashion of the notorious pharaoh, and neither tie of blood nor attachments of near relationship detered him from inflicting severest penalties.² His barbarous punishments of tradesmen, the atrocities of Nuṣrat Khan on the people of Delhi, and the callousness of the sultan in killing his kith and kin, are simply appalling. The assassinations of Jalāluddīn, Ikat Khan, 'Umar Khan and Mangu Khan and the secret poisoning of Ulugh Khan, testify to the almost inhuman nature of the king. It is true that the recurring rebellions of the rich and the wickedness of the government officials gave him sufficient justification to be stern but at the same time it cannot be denied that his punishments bordered on barbarism.

² Baranī pp. 335-36.

The sultan possessed a vindictive nature. If once he became prejudiced against anybody, he spared no efforts to destroy him. If once he incarcerated somebody, he never thought of releasing him, and a large number of innocent men used to be punished simply because the king thought them to be guilty.³ Nothing can be more disconcerting than the punishments of the Jalālī nobles who had, after the murder of their patron, sought protection under the banner of the rising star. So long as 'Alāuddīn needed their support he humoured them into submission, honoured them and distributed among them offices and wealth; but once he was secure on the throne he confiscated their lands, imprisoned some and killed others. The grossness of his nature impelled him to commit such heinous deeds without the slightest qualms of conscience.

Such a man needs must be free from all sentiments of conjugal love. His life story clearly bears out the fact that he was not romantic. Although he had a number of wives like Jalāluddīn's daughter, a sister of Alp Khan, Badshah Begam, a daughter of Mu'izzuddīn Kaīqubād also known as Malka Māhik and mother of Quṭbuddīn Mubarak Shah, Kamla Devi and the daughter of Ram Deva, yet he does not seem to have been at any time under feminine influence as such. 'Alāuddīn could not pull on with Jalāluddīn's daughter, and Māhrū, for whom he is said to have forsaken his uncle's daughter, passed her last days in painful isolation and imprisonment. All other consorts of the sultan are names not even worth mentioning in the king's biography. In medieval times when woman, wine and song were the order of the day, 'Alāuddīn led a life free from unbridled debauchery. Although during the narrative of his reign we do hear of wine parties in the royal palace as also of the infatuation of the sultan for Kāfūr Hazārdīnārī, yet the indulgence of the

³ Baranī p. 338.

sultan vanishes into nothingness in comparison with that of Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād, Qutbuddīn Mubarak and even Jalāluddīn Khaljī. 'Alāuddīn took some wine in his early days, but later on he not only renounced it himself but prohibited its use among the people. 'Alāuddīn's orders against wine drinking, adultery and prostitution clearly indicate the emperor's bent of mind.

A casual study of Baranī's *Tarikh* would leave on the reader's mind the impression that 'Alāuddīn was, if not irreligious, at least unreligious. But that is not true. Although he had not read the Qurān since he was not educated, and although it is also true that he was not punctilious about observing the fast of Ramzan or saying the daily prayers, and was probably the only sultan of Delhi who never went to the Friday prayers and did not permit religious considerations to interfere in state administration, yet he was a true Musalman. He had great faith in his religion and never permitted any irreligious thing to be said or heard.⁴

'Alāuddīn had great respect for contemporary saints. Although he did not personally meet Nizāmuddīn Aulia, he reposed great confidence in the Shaikh's supernatural powers and craved for his blessings through his nobles. During his last days he had become greatly devoted towards Shaikh Nizāmuddīn. Almost all the members of the royal household were disciples of the Shaikh. When 'Alāuddīn came to know of the departure of Maulana Shamsuddīn Turk without meeting him, he was sorely disappointed.⁵ According to Ziyāuddīn the sultan offered a large amount of money in charity after the death of Ulugh Khan. This may have been mere hypocrisy since, as shown above, Ulugh Khan had fallen a victim to the sultan's suspicions. Be it as it may, the above facts clearly show that the king behaved like

⁴ Baranī p. 339.

⁵ Baranī p. 299.

a good Musalman in his private life. The orthodox and the almost bigoted historian Ziyāuddīn Baranī's standard for a Musalman was almost impossible. If 'Alāuddīn could not come up to that standard it was not his fault. If he divorced religion from politics he had sufficient reasons for doing so. Most of the successful Muslim rulers of India divorced religion from politics. To Amīr Khusrau, 'Iṣāmī, and foreigners like Shamsuddīn Turk and Vaṣṣāf, 'Alāuddīn was a true Musalman. 'Iṣāmī goes as far as to assert that the sultan worked on the principles of the shari'at, and exhibited Islam in his actions.⁶ Comparing 'Alāuddīn with Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, 'Iṣāmī says that in the time of 'Alāuddīn the empire became intact on account of his justice, the people were obedient to the king, and there was prosperity in the kingdom,—conditions lacking during Muḥammad's rule.⁷

Reference may here be made to the charge of bigotry levelled against 'Alāuddīn. A thorough study of the sultan's character clearly shows that religious considerations did not prompt him to oppress the Hindus in any way. Under his vigorous administration intriguing nobility, profiteering merchants and contumacious landholders suffered terribly, while the middle class traders and poor peasants also could not escape the privations that followed in the train of his rigorous laws. If the bulk of the population of the country as well as most of the landholders and cultivators were Hindus, it was but natural that the Hindus would suffer most from his tariff and revenue regulations. If the kingdoms 'Alāuddīn attacked belonged to the Hindu Rajas, if at the time of warfare their Hindu subjects suffered, and if the war indemnity, taken from the vanquished Hindu princes was called *jaziyah* in official terminology, it was not at all due to the fact that

⁶ *Futūḥ* p. 569.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 569-70.

'Alāuddīn was a bigot. There is no instance to prove that 'Alāuddīn oppressed some people simply because they were Hindus and favoured some because they were Musalmans. If traders suffered, it was not that only Hindu traders suffered, if the revenue regulations were oppressive to the people, they were not enforced against the Hindus only, and if the nobility were suppressed it was not that only the Hindu nobles were suppressed. In fact 'Alāuddīn's treatment of the nobility was perhaps the most severe and there were very few, if any, Hindu noblemen in 'Alāuddīn's days. It must, however, be remembered that in the early days of Muslim rule in India the sultans had to establish their power and rule on a race different from theirs in religion, society and culture. Naturally they could not trust them with high administrative jobs. Moreover, the sultans themselves occasionally sought advice from learnedmen—*maulvis* and *mullas*—who were generally orthodox and not infrequently bigoted. Constant wars, of course of a military and political character, were fought with Hindu Rajas and a subconscious feeling of animosity existed between the Turkish ruling class, consisting of the sultan and his bureaucracy, and the conquered people. Under such circumstances it is too much to expect from early Turkish sultans like Iltutmish, Balban and 'Alāuddīn to be very liberal towards the native population and throw open posts to the people of all religions. That is why we hardly find many, if any, talented Hindu officers being appointed to high administrative posts in 'Alāuddīn's time. In the Mughal period things were different. Under Akbar and his successors almost the whole of India had come under Muslim domination and the Hindus could safely be trusted with high posts and treated equally with the Muslims. Thus if Balban and 'Alāuddīn were not inclined to give equal opportunities to the Hindus it was but natural. Besides this, there is no proof that 'Alāuddīn oppressed the Hindus because of their religion.

The ruling passion of the sultan was ambition. He thirsted for immortality. To transcend the victories of Alexander and to found a religion which would not let die his name in the annals of mankind, were the two burning desires of his soul. His unpractical notions were aggravated by the stimulation of wine, flattery of friends, and the great good fortune that attended all his enterprises. But luckily 'Alāuddīn always lent a ready ear to sincere advice, and his almost mad schemes were toned down by the faithful counsellor Malik 'Alāulmulk. After the nobleman's remonstrances the king gave his whole attention to defeating the Mongols and conquering independent kingdoms of India. But one thing is certain. Be it 'Alāuddīn's conquests, his architectural enterprises⁸ or his economic reforms—in every act of his is exhibited the Sultan's unbounded ambition, a desire to do something superb and leave an immortal name.

Nature, however, had crammed 'Alāuddīn with a sense of practicality. Without blinding him to reality, his ambition had made him an astute diplomat. He made full preparations before embarking upon any enterprise. The precautions he took to see that the news of his raid into Devagiri did not reach the imperial court, compel admiration. Whether he was fighting the native princes, or encountering the Mongol invaders, the Sultan always exhibited a patient caution. 'Alāuddīn had built up an empire, he had not inherited one and all his life he had to taste both the "bitter and sweet" of life. Experience had taught him to do everything after cool and calculated deliberation.

His caution, however, was not the result of any fears. In fact 'Alāuddīn possessed the strength and the will to carry his way once he had determined on a certain course of action. He had waded through blood to the throne but the circumstances which encouraged him to secure it confirm beyond doubt

⁸ See Appendix C.

that he was a promising general. It is alleged that 'Alāuddīn himself was not a great general and his victories were due to his able commanders like Alp Khan and Naib Kāfūr. But this view is wholly incorrect. While yet an unknown figure, 'Alāuddīn had distinguished himself in the fighting against Malik Chhājū (1292) and in raiding Bhilsa (1292). Thereafter his astounding success against the powerful Maratha army of Devagiri established his reputation as a military commander. Just after his occupation of the throne 'Alāuddīn himself could not safely leave the capital and therefore sent Ulugh Khan and Nuṣrat Khan to occupy Multan and conquer Gujarat. But in 1299 'Alāuddīn successfully defeated Qutluḡ Khvājā and in 1303 repulsed perhaps the most formidable Mughal invasion under Targhī. The way in which he argued with Malik 'Alaḡmulk before marching against the Mongols, clearly shows the spirit of gallantry and sportsmanship the king possessed. The entrenchment 'Alāuddīn prepared to defend himself against the Mughals during Targhī's invasion shows his ingenuity as a strategist. The most formidable battles, as can well be expected, were fought either against the Mughals or in Rajputana and in most of them the sultan showed his organizing capacity, his diplomacy and his military skill. When Ulugh Khan was compelled to retreat during his siege of Ranthambhor, 'Alāuddīn himself marched against it and reduced it simply through his persistent exertions and superior military genius. In 1303 'Alāuddīn was successful in reducing Chittor, which had not been taken by any previous sultan and which put an edge on the teeth of even a strong emperor like Akbar. The victory at Chittor was followed by a death-grappling struggle with the Mughals in which also the king gained an astounding success. From 1303 onwards 'Alāuddīn effected certain administrative reforms and could not move out of the capital but the work of conquest was carried on by his generals like 'Ainul Mulk Multānī and Naib Kāfūr. In 1306 Kāfūr marched

to the south and 'Alāuddīn himself marched to Sevana. Thus from 1290 to 1308 'Alāuddīn was constantly fighting, always to court victory. When Kāfūr began his meteoric career in the south, the sultan found ample opportunity to take rest from camp life and construct buildings of beauty, grace and grandeur. 'Alāuddīn's military genius is exhibited in so far as he made his commanders obediently carry out his orders and conquer for him. In an age when strife and disaffection were rife and a military leader almost invariably aspired for the throne, brilliant generals like Ulugh Khan, Nuṣrat Khan, Malik Kāfūr and Ghāzi Malik showed unflinching obedience towards the king. To make such people undertake conquests in his name shows the superiority of 'Alāuddīn's military talents, his born military leadership and the fact that he was a general of generals.

'Alāuddīn's hardships of military life were relieved by his constant pursuit of field sports. The king was very fond of big game shooting. His absorbing interest in field sports as well as pigeon-flying and hawking was so well known that some of the plots against his life aimed at killing him while he was busy in sports. The emperor was very fond of flying hawks and a large number of these birds and some slave boys, who used to fly them, were maintained by the state. The sultan also spent his leisure hours in the company of boon companions. In his early days he used to drink hard, but the stern realities of the political situation as well as the sincere admonitions of Malik 'Alāulmulk put a check upon his excesses. The royal cellars were emptied and drinking vessels were broken to pieces. Nevertheless, the king could not give up drinking completely. But as time passed he bent towards sobriety; he drank little and never gave himself up to the devil. In spite of his harsh disposition 'Alāuddīn had a soft corner for his companions like Tajuddīn 'Irāqī, Khudāvand Zādā Chashnigīr, Ruknuddīn Dabīr, 'A'izzuddīn Yaghān and Nūr Khan. He never used to get tired of their

repartees and witticism.⁹ In matters of women, wine and song 'Alāuddīn was neither an uncompromising moralist nor a slave of the senses.

The sultan's pursuit of innocent pleasures did not relax his vigilance over matters of state. All important papers were placed before him and his argus eye kept a close watch upon the various branches of the government administration. It is as an administrator than anything else that 'Alāuddīn stands head and shoulder above his predecessors. His accomplishments as a warrior were dwarfed by his achievement as an organiser. His administrative genius is best exhibited in the various novel methods and schemes he formulated to govern the country as he desired. Direct recruitment of soldiers, the systems of branding and cash payment, the control of the market, rationing and issue of permits, the enrolment of merchants and the dozen other measures prove beyond doubt the ingenuity of the king's mind. 'Alāuddīn was an administrative *entrepreneur*; he conceived novel ideas and struck on new grounds. As pointed out before, all his councillors like Zafar Khan, Nuṣrat Khan, Ulugh Khan and also probably 'Alāulmulk had all died before 1302, while Alp Khan was staying far off in Gujarat untill about 1314, and it was surely the inventive genius of 'Alāuddīn which struck at the idea of the so many measures cited above. 'Alāuddīn, for the first time, introduced measurement of land, local government, and laws about collection of revenue. These did not exist before. Although himself unlettered 'Alāuddīn obtained reports about the market from a number of sources and punished the culprits and delinquents. His ingenuity for superb administrative talent is exhibited in his sending small boys, who easily eluded suspicion of shopkeepers, to the market-place to test the honesty and veracity of the merchants.

⁹ Baranī 357-58.

Not only in matters of civil administration but also in military sphere 'Alāuddīn worked more with his mind than with an unreserved bravery. The accounts of his various wars with the Mughals clearly show the sultan's capacity for organizing defence; not a few times by deluding the enemy or exhausting his patience. 'Alāuddīn's grasp of the art of war compensated for the alleged lack of personal bravery.

'Alāuddīn was an imperialist through and through, but notwithstanding his desire for incessant conquest and expansion of his dominions, he was well aware of the dangers of adopting an uncompromising annexationist policy. The annexation of Ranthambhor, Chittor and Sevana had brought innumerable difficulties in their train, and 'Alāuddīn was shrewd enough not to repeat his follies in the Deccan. He defeated the Deccan princes, levied rich tributes upon them, but at the same time left them with their possessions. By this policy he made friends of foes. The cordial way in which he received the rulers of Devagiri and Dwarsamudra and gave them honour and titles and left them in possession of their territories, goes to prove 'Alāuddīn's grasp of the existing political condition of India. The annexation of the south by Muḥammad bin Tughlaq was followed by insurmountable difficulties. 'Alāuddīn's policy shows the superiority of his political acumen. He clearly saw that there was no use in annexing what could not be consolidated. 'Alāuddīn's Deccan policy left a number of faithful allies in the south who not only remained loyal and obedient to him but helped him in some of his military enterprises. In the north, however, places like Malwa, Ujjain, Dharanagri and Gujarat, where Muslim influence had penetrated even before 'Alāuddīn's conquest, the sultan did not hesitate to annex and carry out his imperialistic ambitions to the very end.

In his conquests, in befriending enemies and in administrative reforms 'Alāuddīn can be compared to one of the great-

est emperors of India, Akbar. So far as the policy of territorial aggrandizement is concerned both 'Alāuddīn and Akbar believed in the principal that might is right. Like Akbar after him 'Alāuddīn also firmly believed that "A monarch should ever be intent on conquest otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him."¹⁰ Again like a shrewd diplomat 'Alāuddīn followed the policy of befriending his enemies as Akbar adopted in case of the Rajputs. Some of the Rajput states which had always fought the Muslim rulers in India became Akbar's best supporters. In the same way some of the Deccan kings, in whose country 'Alāuddīn's generals had carried fire and sword became his loyal supporters. 'Alāuddīn was perhaps the first Muslim ruler who left Hindu kings in their positions provided they paid tribute. In certain spheres 'Alāuddīn showed great originality, and some of his military and revenue reforms were adopted by prominent kings long after. Sher Shah adopted most of 'Alāuddīn's military reforms, such as direct recruitment, branding of horses and cash payment. Measurement of land and assessment of land revenue on the basis done by 'Alāuddīn are also found in Todarmal's system, in the time of Sher Shah and Akbar. The only objectionable thing in 'Alāuddīn's administration is that it was based exclusively on force. While the various revenue, administrative and economic reforms of Sher Shah and Akbar were only done to benefit the people, 'Alāuddīn took harshest steps just in the name of defence of the country and even for his own glory.

By the irony of circumstance 'Alāuddīn also contemplated to found a new religion as Akbar actually did two centuries later. But 'Alāuddīn was not so cultured as Akbar was. His ruling passion was ambition and he thought of founding a religion which would immortalise him, and not for

¹⁰ *Ain-i-Akbari* p. 399.

uniting the various diverse classes, castes and creeds under one banner. Akbar's motives in founding the Dīn-i-Ilāhī were humane and honourable, whereas 'Alāuddīn's were only selfish and egoistic.

What could this monarch achieve for the Turkish Sultanate in India during his rule of a score years? It is generally believed that 'Alāuddīn left nothing of permanance. According to the contemporary Shaikh Bashīr Divānā, 'Alāuddīn's government had no stable foundation and the Khaljī dynasty was easily supplanted because of the inherent weaknesses of the 'Alāi rule. There is no doubt that 'Alāuddīn's administrative system had its defects. His government was one man's rule, and as Sir Jadunath aptly remarks "a government of personal discretion is, by its very nature, uncertain."¹¹ 'Alāuddīn's rule was based on force, not on will of the people. The king was only feared and obeyed but not loved or respected. The sultan neglected the economic prosperity of the state and just to benefit his military (and as a concomitant non-military) population, he killed every incentive to trade and commerce. Under his regulations the traders had neither freedom of movement nor hope of profit. He put the peasantry to utmost exertions. His vigorous spy system made people's life distateful, and the suppression of baronage left the government in a paralytic state when the emperor's eyes were closed. But all these accusations do not seem to hold water when a careful and critical analysis of his solid achievements is made. 'Alāuddīn had achieved much. His imperialistic policy had turned a small kingdom, as the sultanate of Delhi was, into an empire comprising of the major portion of India. He was the first ruler whose political hegemony extended over a major portion of the Deccan peninsula. He dealt a death blow to the Mughal aggrandisement which not only stood in the way of the expansion of the Turkish arms,

¹¹ Sarkar: *Shivaji*, p. 391.

but threatened the very existence of Muslim rule in this country. If some of the kingdoms 'Alāuddīn conquered became independent about the time of his death it did not mean that 'Alāuddīn's achievements were mean. He had curbed the power of the Hindu Rajas in the far off south, and had it not been for his success in that region, a debauch like Qutbuddīn could never have marched to Devagiri and flayed alive Harpal Deva. 'Alāuddīn's work at least had permanent results if his conquests were not permanent. It was 'Alāuddīn who had exhibited to his successors the vulnerability of the states beyond the Vindhya. His system of administration had enabled him successfully to rule the country for two decades, and its value is judged by the fact that most of his administrative measures served as models for later monarchs. Baranī aptly enumerates the glorious features particular to 'Alāuddīn's regime, which are not to be found in the rule of any other king. The first special feature of 'Alāuddīn's times is the cheapness of the necessities of life and fixed rates of grains in seasons of plenty and scarcity; the second is the unbroken chain of victories which the king and his commanders obtained, and it appeared as if victory preceded a military enterprise; the third is the crushing of the Mongols; the fourth is that a large force remained calm and contented on a small salary; the fifth is that contumacious landholders were suppressed; the sixth is that roads and highways became safe, and those who used to rob were made to guard them; seventh, that the traders were compelled to be honest; eighth is the abundance of strong buildings; ninth, that Hindus were compelled into obedience and Muslims had become true, abstemious and just; and the tenth is the congregation of artists and learned men such as had not been found to exist in any other reign.

CHAPTER XX

QUTBUDDIN MUBARAK SHAH (1316-1320)

The Interregnum

The death of 'Alāuddīn left Kāfūr the master of the situation. After shedding a few crocodile tears,¹ he buried the emperor's dead body in a mausoleum built by the sultan himself in front of the Jamā Masjid (Quvvatul Islam mosque).² Next morning he sent for the nobles and officers of the state and showed them the will of 'Alāuddīn nominating Shihābuddīn 'Umar for the throne. 'Iṣāmī writes that as the condition of 'Alāuddīn became very critical Malik Naib suggested to him to set aside the claims of 'Khizr Khan and nominate 'Umar Khan for succession. On account of extreme weakness and insensibility the sultan could not give any reply, and as generally happens, his silence was interpreted as his consent, and prince 'Umar Khan was declared heir-apparent.³ The nobles submitted to the dictates of the document bearing the king's seal and 'Umar Khan, a child of about six years, was raised to the throne as sultan Shihābuddīn 'Umar Khalji.⁴

Shihābuddīn was the most agreeable puppet Kāfūr could ever find. Despite his being a eunuch, the Naib married the infant king's mother, who was a daughter of Ramdevā,⁵ and began to rule in Shihāb's name. Malik Naib's excellent martial qualities had marked him for a great conqueror, but

¹ *Futūḥ* p. 341.

² Baranī, p. 369. For the location of the tomb see Appendix C.

³ *Futūḥ* pp. 335-36.

⁴ Baranī p. 372. *Futūḥ* p. 335.

⁵ *Futūḥ* pp. 335, 344. *Zafaruṭ Vāli* p. 837.

surely he was lacking in statecraft. Without first strengthening his position he began to rule with all the excesses of a king. He was under the presumption that all the nobles of 'Alāuddīn were with him and in place of tactfully befriending them, he alienated them by his atrocious and unbecoming acts.

On the very first day of his accession to power, Kāfūr sent Sumbal to blind Khizr Khan at Gwalior.⁶ He gave him 'Alāuddīn's ring, which he had removed from the dead king's person,⁷ to facilitate his work. He promised the Barbēgī of the court as a reward for the heinous crime.⁸ Sumbal reached Gwalior in no time. Because of the royal insignia he was enabled to reach his prey without difficulty.⁹ Poignant were the tears that rolled down the prince's cheeks as he sat down to lose his sight. "The eyes that could not bear the touch of antimony", says Amīr Khusrau, "now bore the tortures of a blinding needle."¹⁰

On the day Sumbal was despatched to Gwalior, Shādī Khan, a brother of Khizr Khan, was blinded in the Kaushaki-Siri. His eyes were sliced from their sockets "like pieces of melon." Khizr Khan's mother was also sent as a prisoner to Gwalior and was deprived of her ornaments and valuables.¹¹ Shortly after Mubarak Khan, another son of 'Alāuddīn, was imprisoned at Delhi. All the other sons of the deceased monarch, viz. Farīd Khan, 'Usman Khan, Muḥammad Khan and Abu Bakr Khan also fell into the hands of the Regent.¹²

⁶ *Futūh* pp. 337-38. *Deval Rani* p. 261.

⁷ *Futūh* p. 341.

⁸ Baranī p. 373.

⁹ *Futūh* p. 338.

¹⁰ *Deval Rani* p. 263.

¹¹ She was already under detention when 'Alāuddīn's eyes closed. Now she was sent to Gwalior. This is confirmed by the fact that she was at Gwalior with her son Khizr Khan when he was murdered in 1318.

¹² *Futūh*. pp. 341-42.

Feeling secure at the score of the royal princes, whom he had either imprisoned or blinded, Kāfūr began to rule with a sense of security. He used to seat the child-king on the throne on the terrace of the Hazār Sitūn for a showboy, and address nobles and officers after the fashion of 'Alāuddīn, making the high officials and barons stand in his presence. In the day he carried on the business of the government and at night used to gamble and dice in the company of his friends.¹³ When closetted with confidential associates he used to discuss ways and means of removing 'Alāuddīn's scions and officers. Little did he know that his movements were spied by those whose destruction he was planning.

The situation came to a crisis when the Regent attempted to blind Mubarak Khan whom he had already imprisoned. He had hired some footsoldiers (paiks) to blind the prince, but when they approached Mubarak, he took out a jewelled necklace from round his neck and throwing it before them reminded them of the duty they owed to the sons of the late king. Impressed by Mubarak's harangue they not only left him untouched¹⁴ but determined to finish the traitor. In the execution of this act they had the connivance of high military officers who used to see the Regent waking up all the night in bolted chambers discussing in secrecy. Four paiks whose names are given as Mubshar, Bashīr, Saleh and Munīr,¹⁵ one day went

¹³ In a parallel passage Nizāmuddin Ahmad and Ferishtah suggest that he played Chaupar. Prof. Hodivala (pp. 283-84) says that it may be *Pachisi*, firstly because *Pachisi* is a very popular and antiquated game, and secondly because *kaori* is not made use of in Chaupar while its use is necessary in the latter game. But from *Kaori bākhtan* may be meant dicing and gambling for which the term is very commonly used in India.

¹⁴ Ferishtah p. 124.

¹⁵ *Futūh* pp. 342-43. Ferishtah also gives the name of two, Mubshar and Babbīr.

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to the chambers of Kāfūr and murdered him, only thirty five days after his usurpation of power.¹⁶

After the assassination of Malik Naib, Mubarak Khan was brought out of confinement and appointed Regent to Shihā-buddīn. By his devotion to duty and attention to the affairs of the state, Mubarak won the barons over to his side. No sooner than his position was made secure he blinded Shihāb-uddīn and sent him to Gwalior two months after his assumption of regency.¹⁷ He also crushed the power of the paiks who had slain Malik Naib and on that account had become arrogant and proud. They openly boasted of having brought about the death of Malik Kāfūr and the accession of Qutbuddīn. As such they expected preferential treatment from the Regent and the nobles. Soon after Qutbuddīn ascended the throne he ordered the execution of Mubshar and Bashīr. The other contumacious paiks were also taken to different places and beheaded.

Accession of Qutbuddīn Mubarak Shah (1316)

Mubarak Khan ascended the throne at the young age of seventeen or eighteen on the 20th Muḥarram 716 (14th April, 1316).¹⁸ As was the custom, his accession was followed by great rejoicings, and titles and honours were conferred on the dignitaries of the state. The title of Zafar Khan was

¹⁶ Baranī and 'Iṣāmī have 35 days. Ferishtah only 25. As 'Alāuddīn died on 7th Shavvāl (January 6th, 1316) and Kāfūr was killed 35 days after the former's death, he must have been murdered on or about the 12th of Zil qada 715 (February 11th, 1316).

¹⁷ Baranī p. 377.

¹⁸ This is the date given in *T.M.S. Khusrāu* has 716, *Nūh Sipehr* Elliot vol. III. 'Iṣāmī also has 716. Baranī wrongly writes 717 and the mistake is repeated by Niẓāmuddīn, Badaonī and Ferishtah. Numismatical evidence confirms the year 716 as correct, as the earliest coins of Qutbuddīn were struck in 716.

conferred upon Malik Dīnār, the Shaḥnah-i-Pil (Keeper of Elephants). Muḥammad, an uncle of the sultan, became Sher Khan. Malik Fakhruddīn Jūnā, son of Ghāzī Malik, was made Amīr Akhūr (Master of Horse). Maulana Ziyāuddīn, son of Maulana Bahāuddīn¹⁹ Khattāt, who was Mubarak Shah's teacher in calligraphy, was given the post of Sadr Jahān and the title of Qaṣī Khan, and a dagger worked in gold and jewels was presented to him. Malik Qira Beg was entrusted with a number of responsible offices.²⁰ The king also raised to high positions his favourites and slaves and conferred upon them big jāgīrs. But the most surprising elevation was of Hasan, an obscure slave of Gujarat, on whom the king bestowed special honours. He was given the title of Khusrau Khan, and the emoluments and jāgīrs of Malik Naib were bestowed upon him; and after some time, in the very first year of his reign, Qutbuddīn raised him to the position of Vazīr.

An Era of Reaction.

With the passing of time a stable government gradually dispelled the anarchic conditions that had followed 'Alāuddīn's death. Repose and contentment began to appear among men. Whereas the new king was ease loving and generous by nature, his confinement and early privations had made him still more kind-hearted. The beginning of his reign, therefore, heralded the birth of a liberal era. On the day of his accession he had ordered the release of all prisoners. Men exiled for various offences were ordered to be returned home. This wise about seventeen or eighteen thousand prisoners were set free. He also granted a reward 'equal to six months' salary to the army and increased the stipends and allowances of the officers and the learned, and "the people

¹⁹ Ferishtah has Shihābuddīn.

²⁰ Baranī p. 381. Later on the historian says that Qira Beg held fourteen important appointments, p. 396.

had *tankahs* and *jitals* ringing in their pockets once again."²¹ A large number of *jāgirs*, which had been reclaimed into the *Khālsā* by 'Alāuddīn, were returned. Heavy fines and taxes were abolished and extortionist devices like flogging and incarceration were prohibited in the Revenue Department. The sultan ordered that applications of the suppliants should be submitted to him,—a practice which had become obsolete for some time. He personally perused the petitions and wrote orders on them.²²

In short, the new king inaugurated an era of reaction. Most of the regulations of 'Alāuddīn fell into disuse. The strict vigilance of the conduct of the people was given up. They could now afford to be affluent with impunity, and naturally, began to amass wealth. Market regulations ceased to be enforced. The constant dread of the spies, the impossibility of obtaining favour or mercy and the fear of barbarous punishment no longer haunted the minds of the people. The dread of the king's authority left the breasts of the people and they ran after pleasures, unbridled. Since the youthful monarch was always drowned in pleasure and dissipation, the people in general also followed in his footsteps. The demand for beautiful girls and beardless boys, says Baranī, made them a scarce commodity, and their prices rose to 500 and sometimes even to 2,000 *tankahs*.²³ In spite of the fact that Qutbuddin did not rescind the restriction on drinks, wine was fearlessly smuggled, secretly distilled and freely drunk. Prices of grain and cloth rose high and the Multānī merchants rejoiced at the death of 'Alāuddīn.²⁴ They now sold articles at rates highly profitable to them, and cheated the public in every way.²⁵ Bribery and corruption

²¹ Baranī p. 382.

²² Ibid.

²³ Baranī p. 384.

²⁴ Ibid p. 385.

²⁵ Ibid. p. 385.

were openly indulged in, and it was a red letter day for clerks and Munshīs while the wages of labour increased fourfold.²⁶ With the reduction in the rate of land tax the lot of the zamīndārs and peasants was automatically improved. In contrast to the days of 'Alāuddīn, now they ate better food and wore better clothes.²⁷ To sum up, the kindness and liberality of the king as well as his own easy habits made the people happy and the agony of the days of 'Alāuddīn began to be dispelled from their minds.

Conquest of Gujarat 1316.

We have seen how the assassination of Alp Khan had incited the people of Gujarat into rebellion. Under their leaders Haider and Vazīrak the Gujaratis had killed the royal commander Kamāluddīn Gurg, and thenceforward the province had ceased to recognise the imperial authority. According to the author of *Futūḥus Salātīn*, Malik Naib, during his regency, had contemplated to reestablish the royal authority in Gujarat. He had summoned 'Ainulmulk Multanī from Devagiri to attack Gujarat, but while the latter was marching northwards he heard about the death of the Regent and stopped in Rajputana.²⁸ Consequently, it was left to Qutb-uddīn to reconquer the province.

In the very year of his accession, therefore, Mubarak Shah sent a large force under Malik Tughlaq to join the forces of

²⁶ Baranī p. 385.

²⁷ Baranī has Hindus for agriculturists. Their well-being was unbearable to the orthodox Maulana and he feels pained to write that "the Hindus who had become destitutes of food and cloth in 'Alāuddīn's days now dressed in fine linen and rode on horses". Baranī p. 385.

²⁸ *Futūḥ* pp. 339-40 'Isāmī says that 'Ainulmulk received the news of the Naib's death at Chittor and stayed there.

'Ainulmulk Multānī near Chittor, and attack Gujarat.²⁹ The royal forces arrived in Gujarat, but the rebel leaders were not daunted by the arrival of the imperialists, and marshalled their forces outside the city (of Neharvala).³⁰ Ainulmulk was not only an experienced general, he was a great diplomat too. He wrote secret letters to junior officers of the rebel army asking them to kill their two generals Ḥaider and Vazīrak, and submit to the sultan. There was no sense, wrote 'Ainulmulk, in the fighting of the two forces professing the same religion.³¹ At the end it was emphatically pointed out that ultimately the rebel leaders must be killed, but if the Gujarat forces deserted them many an innocent life would be saved from destruction. The ruse worked well, and as the bel-ligerant forces encountered each other, many Gujarati officers deserted to the side of the imperialists. Ḥaider and Vazīrak fought valiantly but the desertions of the treacherous officers very much impaired their strength. Not being able to bear the brunt of the onslaughts of the royal army, they fled from the field of battle. They were relentlessly pursued but they succeeded in effecting their escape³² and seeking shelter with some Hindu chiefs and Zamindars in far off provinces.³³

After conquering Gujarat 'Ainulmulk returned to Delhi and was profusely rewarded.³⁴ Malik Dīnār, who had been given the title of Zafar Khan, and whose daughter had been married to the sultan, was appointed governor of Gujarat. Through the sincere efforts of his able and sagacious noble the whole of the province was brought under complete control. He administered the country so well that within three

²⁹ *Futūh*. p. 349.

³⁰ *Ibid*. 350.

³¹ *Futūh*. p. 350.

³² *Ibid*. p. 351.

³³ *Baranī* p. 388.

³⁴ *Futūh* p. 352.

or four months of his arrival people forgot the good old days of Alp Khan. Zafar Khan realised a large amount of money from neighbouring chiefs and zamindars and sent it to Delhi.³⁵

Gujarat, however, was not destined to enjoy a long tenure of peace. A plot against the sultan's life while he was on a march to the Deccan shook him to his very being and after his return from there Qutbuddin became extremely cruel and reckless. He openly executed Zafar Khan, his father-in-law and governor of Gujarat, without any rhyme or reason. Zafar's death was enough to sap the imperial hegemony in Gujarat. Hisāmuddīn, a brother of Khusrau Khan,³⁶ was next given the charge of the province. The mere fact that the sultan looked upon him with some favour, turned his head, and this ungrateful wretch began to hatch evil designs. He collected his cousins, relatives and supporters, who were quite prominent in Gujarat, and raised the standard of revolt. The powerful barons and officers of Gujarat, however, caught him and sent him to Delhi. In place of taking any severe steps against Hisāmuddīn, Qutbuddin only gave him a place near him at the court. This attitude of the king frightened the noblemen of Gujarat and created bitterness and hatred in their hearts for so licentious a sovereign. After Hisāmuddīn, the governorship of Gujarat fell to the

³⁵ *Tab. Akb.* p. 177, *Ferishtah.* p. 125.

³⁶ Baranī p. 369 has برادر مادر خسرو خان. Later on he says این برادر خسرو خان. *Tab. Akb.* at one place styles him as brother of Khusrau Khan and at another as brother on the mother's side. *Ferishtah* also has برادر مادری. It is therefore certain that Hisāmuddīn was a cousin or step-brother of Khusrau. He does not seem to have been his real brother but most certainly not his maternal uncle as Elliot has suggested. *Elliot* vol. III, p. 218. Amīr Khusrau also calls him as brother of Khusrau Khan at many places.

lot of Malik Vahīduddīn Qureshi, who was given the title of Sadrul Mulk. Vahīduddīn belonged to a highly respectable family and was one of the invaluable and rare nobles of the realm.³⁷ Sadrulmulk arrived in Gujarat and on account of his great qualities dispelled the vicious atmosphere created by the machinations of Hīsamuddīn. Qutbuddīn was very much impressed by the administrative talents of Vahīd Qureshi, and after the suppression of Malik Yaklakhi's revolt at Devagiri he called Vahīduddīn to Delhi, gave him the title of Tājulmulk and entrusted him with the offices of the Naib-i-Vuzrāt and Divān-i-Vuzrāt.³⁸

Expedition to Devagiri 1318.

After the death of Malik Naib, Devagiri was lost to the sultanate of Delhi, and Harpal Deva, son-in-law of Ram Deva, had assumed perfect independence. According to Yahya, Qutbuddīn had made up his mind to proceed against Devagiri in 1316 but his nobles dissuaded him from going into so far off a country immediately after his accession.³⁹ In 1318, however, the sultan marched towards the Deccan with a large number of officers and men. He had determined firstly to conquer the lost kingdom of Devagiri and secondly to secure treasures from the Rai of Telingana⁴⁰ and other Deccan princes. In utter disregard of the fact that the emergency needed an experienced and strong man at the capital, the sultan gave the title of Vafā Malik to Shāhīn, an obscure mediocrity and a

³⁷ Baranī p. 397.

³⁸ An inscription of Mubarak Khaljī from Jalor, Jodhpur State, engraved in Tughra style and perhaps inscribed on a mosque mentions the name of Tājulmulk, the governor of Gujarat. The date on the inscription is 5th Muharram 718 (Thursday, March 9th, 1318). *Epigr. Indo-Moslemica* 1937-38 pp. 49-50.

³⁹ *T.M.S.* p. 83.

⁴⁰ *Futūh.* pp. 352-53.

father-in-law of the king, and appointed him viceroy at Delhi during his absence.

The southward march was confronted with little difficulties. Many an expedition had been led before and the way to Devagiri was very well known. The first halt was made at Tilpat where many more troops joined the sultan. From there Qutbuddin marched in all pomp and splendour and by forced marches arrived near Devagiri in about a couple of months' time.⁴¹

When the imperial army arrived on the borders of his kingdom, Harpal Deva and Raghava, minister of the late king Ram Deva, fled to the hills. There Raghava collected an army of 10,000 strong. Qutbuddin marched straight into Devagiri and occupied it without encountering any opposition. Khusrau Khan was sent with a powerful contingent to pursue the fugitive king and minister. Qutlugh, an officer of Khusrau's forces, was successful in seizing some of Raghava's adherents, from whom they were enabled to ascertain the strength of Raghava's army as well as its location. Khusrau Khan attacked the Maratha minister in a defile and completely routed his forces. "The Hindus, who had pretended to independence, were either slain, captured or put to flight."⁴² Raghava himself was most severely wounded but escaped capture. After this signal victory Khusrau Khan returned in all haste to Devagiri as the king had summoned him urgently. On his way back the Vazir received intelligence that Rana Harpal Deva had not submitted until then and had taken up a position in the hills at the head of a powerful army. The Khan went in his pursuit but was two or three times vigorously attacked by the Hindu Raja. At last Harpal Deva was severely wounded in a stiff engagement and was taken captive. Qutbuddin was overjoyed at this victory of

⁴¹ *Futūh*. p. 353.

⁴² *Nah Sipehr*, Elliot vol. III. pp. 558-59.

his favourite general and received him "with a hundred flattering distinctions." The rebels were severely punished, Harpal Deva was inhumanly flayed alive and his body was hung on the gates of Devagiri.⁴³

Rains detained the sultan at Devagiri for some time during which he brought the whole of the Maratha country under his sway.⁴⁴ The sultan established outposts in "Gulbarga, Sagar and Dharsamudra and other places"⁴⁵, and appointed suitable officers to them. Malik Yaklakhi, who had served for a long time as Naib-i-Barid-i-Mumalik under 'Alāuddīn, was made the Governor of Devagiri.

Asaduddīn's Revolt 1318.

By the beginning of Rajjab 718 (September 1318) the rainy season was at an end, and Khusrau Khan was ordered to lead an expedition into the kingdom of Telingana.⁴⁶ The sultan himself turned towards Delhi. His *haram* was with him, and as was his disposition, he was always immersed in music and mirth. The king had, moreover, recently given posts of distinction to his favourites to the resentment of the senior nobility. A plot was hatched to put an end to the Sultan's life. Asaiddīn, a son of Malik Khāmosh Yoghresh Khan and cousin of 'Alāuddīn, was the originator of this conspiracy. Asad was a man brave, cliquish and influential.⁴⁷ He won over to his side some enterprising desperadoes, and they decided to kill the king when he was about to cross the Ghati of Sākūn and to place Asaduddin on the throne.

⁴³ Baranī p. 390.

⁴⁴ Qutbuddīn built a mosque at Devagiri which was still in existence in Ferishtah's days. Ferishtah p. 125.

⁴⁵ Ferishtah p. 125.

⁴⁶ Baranī p. 390.

Ferishtah p. 125.

⁴⁷ Baranī p. 393.

Luckily for Qutbuddīn, when he was coming down the valley of Sakun, Arām Shah, son of Khurram Khajūrī, the Vakīl-i-dar of Jalāluddīn's days, apprised the king about the plot.⁴⁸ Qutbuddīn at once stopped where he had arrived and ordered the arrests of Asaduddīn, his relatives and all other conspirators. An inquiry was held; the arrested were found guilty and instantly executed. After the fashion of his father, Qutbuddīn sent orders to Delhi to kill all the children of Yoghresh's family, about twenty-nine in number, all of whom could possibly have no knowledge of the plot, some being mere infants. The wealth and emoluments of Yoghresh were confiscated to the state and the ladies and young daughters of his house were turned out into the streets to beg their living.⁴⁹ Qutbuddīn's suspicions were not alleviated even with this cold blooded massacre. He determined to extirpate root and branch all those who had any connection with the royal house. When he arrived near Jhain he despatched Shadi Khatta to Gwalior to assassinate Khizr Khan and other princes who were imprisoned there. Later on, soon after his return to the capital, he ordered the execution of Zafar Khan, his father-in-law and governor of Gujarat. The next victim of Qutbuddīn's implacable revenge was Vafā Malik Shāhīn, who had been left as viceroy at Delhi during the king's absence in the Deccan.

Although the punishments inflicted were severe and indiscriminate, yet the discovery of a couple of billon coins struck in 718 H in the name of one Shamsuddīn Maḥmūd Shah⁵⁰ clearly shows that the conspiracy was of a really very

⁴⁸ *T.M.S.* p. 84.

⁴⁹ Baranī p. 393.

⁵⁰ *J. A. S. B.* 1910 pp.566-67

J. A. S. B. 1912 pp 123-67.

Rogers: *Catalogues of the Coins in Government Museum*, Lahore, Introduction.

N. Wright: *Sultans of Delhi*, pp. 109-10.

serious character. Not only Asaduddin at Devagiri but people at Delhi were also implicated in it. The coins clearly indicate the presence of a pretender at Delhi in whose name they were struck. And who was this pretender? Asaduddin, Shāhīn, or a son of Khizr Khan, "whose elevation to the throne was, according to Ibn Battūṭah, the object of the conspiracy?"⁵¹ Describing this revolt Ibn Battūṭah writes that some nobles (he does not make mention of Asaduddin's name) tried to rise in revolt against sultan Qutbuddin, and place on the throne a ten year old son of Khizr Khan.⁵² The fact that Khizr Khan had a son by Deval Rani is attested by Hajiuddabir⁵³, but not by any contemporary historian. According to Baranī, Khizr Khan was about the same age as Mubarak Khalji.⁵⁴ Again, he had married Deval Rani in 1313 or 1314. By no stretch of imagination, therefore, could Khizr Khan have had a son of ten years in 1318. Moreover, Khizr Khan had been deprived of his sight and was living a secluded life in a dungeon of Gwalior Fort "getting only food and clothing."⁵⁵ Under these circumstances it is certain that Khizr Khan or his son, if there was any, had no share in the plot. The statements of Amīr Khusrau in his immortal *maṣnavi* also lead to the same inference. Therefore, the title on the coin referred to above must either have been of Asaduddin or of Vāfā Beg. Asad was all along with Qutbuddin in the Deccan and was executed there. Since the coin was struck at Delhi it must have been in the name of Malik Shāhīn, who was at Delhi and was executed by the king soon after his arrival there.

⁵¹ *Camb. Hist. of India* vol. III p. 121.

⁵² Ibn Battūṭah, vol. III, p. 192.

⁵³ *Zafarul Vāli* p. 841.

⁵⁴ Baranī p. 373.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 393.

Assassination of Khizr Khan 1318.

Shadi Khatta, the Sar-i-Silahdār,⁵⁶ arrived at Gwalior from Jhain. He was deputed to assassinate Khizr Khan, Shadi Khan and Shihābuddin, the three sons of 'Alā'uddīn, and to bring their families to Delhi.⁵⁷ These princes had already been blinded and were permitted only bare sustenance. According to Amīr Khusrau, who does not say anything about Asaduddin's revolt, the Sultan sent a message to Khizr Khan beginning with a sympathetic introduction but ending with a preposterous request. "You have lost sight of the eye and health of the body", wrote Qutbuddin. "You know I have not been instrumental in all this...but now the oppressor (Malik Naib) is dead. If you were thrown into imprisonment, time for your release has arrived. I will make you governor of a province, an honour you amply deserve. You should, however, not burn in the fire of love for Deval Rani who is after all your slave. I hear that she has attained to such an elevation that you lay your head at her feet. Even if she was as beautiful as the Moon, she was not worthy of your worship. We wish that she may not be left with you. As she has been given to you by the Royalty, it is desired that she may be sent back to us. When your infatuation (lunacy) for her is a little abated she would be sent back to you to serve you as a slave."⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Baranī p. 393. *Deval Rani* p. 275. At another place Khusrau (*Deval Rani* p. 278) says that he was a low-born Hindu. Ferishtah p. 125.

⁵⁷ Baranī p. 393.

⁵⁸ *Deval Rani* pp. 273-75.

On the authority of Husām Khan, Hajiuddabir writes that when a son was born to Deval Rani Khizr Khan was asked to divorce her, because it was a custom that when a princess got a child she was divorced from her husband. Khizr Khan loved Deval Rani passionately and refused to separate her. This reason for Qutbuddin's demand for Deval Rani has not been given by any other historian and seems absurd.

Zafarul Vāli pp. 841-43.

The demand filled the helpless prince's eyes with tears and heart with rage. He remonstrated saying that since he had lost everything in the world except his beloved, it behoved the king to leave at least Deval to him. In the end Khizr Khan declared that he would prefer death to her separation.⁵⁹ In short the king who sought a pretence to kill his step brother ordered the death of Khizr Khan. Consternation and then despondency spread in Gwalior Fort as the arrival of Shadi Khatta was made known. Khizr Khan took a touching farewell from his companion and prepared to die. Amīr Khusrau and Ibn Battūtah give a graphic account of the execution of the princes. The Egyptian traveller learnt all about it at Macca from Qāzī Zainuddīn Mubarak of Gwalior who happened to be an eye witness to the execution⁶⁰. According to the Qāzī, Khizr Khan's mother, who was present in the fortress, was locked up in a room. Khizr Khan's spirits quailed at the sight of the sword and he started wailing aloud. But soon the fatal blow silenced him for ever. Shadi Khan was all fire at the cruel doom decided for the innocent victims. In his rage he leapt upon the executioner and threw him on the ground. But all in vain. Very soon he and Shihāb "drank of the same cup", each being killed by turns.⁶¹ The wails and cries of the royal ladies added to the poignancy of the situation. In a turret of the fort known as the Vijaya Mandir were buried the dead "just as gems are hidden in stones."⁶²

A word about the unlucky Deval. Her life after the death of her husband is tantalizingly obscure. Baranī only says that all the ladies staying at Gwalior were brought

⁵⁹ *Deval Rani* p. 275.

⁶⁰ *Ibn Battūtah* vol. III, pp. 192-93.

⁶¹ *Deval Rani* pp. 284-85.

⁶² *Ibid.* p. 287.

Khizr Khan's mother remained alive long after his death and Ibn Battūtah met her at Macca in 728H (1328 A.D.).

Ibn Battūtah vol. III, p. 194.

to Delhi.⁶³ He does not say what happened to Deval Devi, nor does Khusrau. Hajiuddabir, however, says that Qutbuddin married her against her will and everybody condemned this action.⁶⁴ Ferishtah also says that Qutbuddin took into his *haram* Deval Devi, the wedded wife of Khizr Khan.⁶⁵ This may not be improbable. Qutbuddin had little moral scruples and the taking possession of the wives of a dead prince by the ruling monarch was a common practice in those days. With the murder of Qutbuddin at the hands of Khusrau Khan the affairs at Delhi became chaotic. According to Barani, Khusrau Khan married the wife of Qutbuddin.⁶⁶ He does not say that she was Deval Devi. Obviously she must have been the chief wife of Mubarak Shah. Some later Persian writers and a few modern historians, however, suggest that she was the ill-starred Deval Devi, perhaps because of the tragedy associated with her name. But their surmise is not supported by any contemporary evidence. In fact nothing is known of the end of this princess to whom the fates seemed to be deliberately inimical.

Qutbuddin and Nizāmuddīn Aulia.

So vindictive was the sultan's nature that since Nizāmuddīn Aulia was a pir of Khizr Khan, Qutbuddin began to entertain a feeling of animosity towards him.⁶⁷ He even abused the Shaikh openly and ordered his nobles to refrain from visiting him. Through sheer discourtesy he declared a reward of a thousand *tankahs* for one who would cut the saints' head.⁶⁸ He even did not acknowledge the salutations of Nizāmuddīn when they once chanced to meet at the tomb of

⁶³ Barani pp. 393-94.

⁶⁴ *Zafar ul Vāli* pp. 841-44.

⁶⁵ Ferishtah p. 125.

⁶⁶ Barani pp. 410-11.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p. 394.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p. 396.

Shaikh Ziyāuddīn Rūmī. He began to patronize Shaikhzādā Jām, who had for long been an opponent of Nizāmuddīn, and even called Shaikhul Islam Ruknuddīn from Multan.⁶⁹

Thus, after the Devagiri expedition, all the qualities of generosity and large-heartedness which were characteristic of Qutbuddīn at the beginning of his reign, disappeared, while his grosser nature gained an upper hand of his self. Gujarat and the Deccan had been brought under control and there was no independent chief or king in the country strong enough to challenge his authority. While this security, external and internal, had made Qutbuddīn proud, Asad's abortive conspiracy had made him ruthlessly cruel. Now he would not listen to any advice, nor would he trust anybody. There is no doubt that the plot was responsible for making him ruthless and unscrupulous, but his disgraceful habits were themselves responsible for the conspiracy. And though he extirpated the guilty as well as the not-guilty, he did not improve his own conduct. On the contrary his debauchery increased with time. Like the profligate Elagabalus of Rome (3rd century A.D.) the passions of the sultan could not be satisfied with "a long train of concubines" or a number of beardless boys. He preferred to dress himself in female attire and ornaments embroidered with laces and adorned with gems,⁷⁰ and occasionally went about dancing in the houses of the nobility. The king used to enjoy the sight of young eunuchs and ribald and dissolute women come stark naked to the court and cut indecent jokes with high officials like 'Ainulmulk Multānī and Qīra Beg. Toubah, a clown from Gujarat, openly used to abuse the noblemen and insult them with obscene pleasantries.⁷¹ In short, the court of Qutbuddīn presented licence and obscenity in its utter nakedness. It was his sheer luck

⁶⁹ Baranī p. 396.

⁷⁰ Gibbon: *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. I, p. 128.

⁷¹ Baranī p. 396.

that the Mongols did not knock at the gates of India and the revolts against the sultanate were quickly suppressed.

Revolt of Malik Yaklakhi at Devagiri.

About the time that Qutbuddīn sent Malik Vahīduddīn Qureshī as governor of Gujarāt, intelligence arrived that Malik Yaklakhī had risen in revolt at Devagiri and had assumed the paraphernalia of royalty.⁷² The sultan was all rage and at once ordered some prominent nobles⁷³ to march to Devagiri, imprison Yaklakhī and send him alive to Delhi. A large force with a number of officers like Malik Talbaghā Yaghḍā, Shādi Satilā, Qutluḡ the Amīr-i-Shikār, Malik Tājulmulk and Khvājā Hājī marched southwards to quell the insurrection.⁷⁴

After about two months the royal army reached the destination. Malik Yaklakhi was exceedingly proud and neglected to strengthen his position. He little knew that his army was not loyal to him and the officers and men whom he had imprisoned during his revolt were definitely inimical to him. Thus when the actual warfare started many of his officers and men deserted to the royal camp. To crown it all Talbaghā of Nāgor, Nasīruddīn and Shams, who Yaklakhī trusted as his supporters, one day arrested him and his followers when they were dead drunk.⁷⁵ Then they sent Yaklakhī and his companions in chains to Delhi where his ears and nose were chopped off⁷⁶ and his partisans severely punished. The

⁷² *T.M.S.* p. 84.

⁷³ According to 'Iṣāmī and *T.M.S.* Khusrau Khan was sent to suppress the revolt of Yaklakhi, but that is wrong. Both Baranī and Ferishta only say that some prominent officers were sent. Khusrau Khan was already present in farther south, reducing Warangal and raiding cities in M'abar.

Futūh. pp. 353-54.

Baranī p. 398.

⁷⁴ *Futūh.* p. 356.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 357-58.

⁷⁶ Baranī p. 397.

governorship of Devagiri was conferred on Malik 'Ainul-mulk Multānī, and the deputy governorship on Malik Mujir-uddin Abu Rijā.⁷⁷ Malik Tājulmulk, son of Khvājā 'Alā Dabīr, was appointed as the latter's secretary. In a short time they brought the country under perfect control.⁷⁸

Khusrau Khan in Farther South.

It has been said before that when Qutbuddin had left Devagiri after crushing Harpal Deva he had nominated Khusrau Khan to lead an expedition into farther south. Khusrau Khan accordingly marched into Telingana and on his arrival there the Raja and officers of the country fled away. The invader obtained some loot, and about one hundred elephants fell into his hands.⁷⁹ Baranī, always deficient in the description of battles is altogether silent about the engagements which Khusrau Khan fought in the Kākatiya country. But Amīr Khusrau gives a graphic, and at places, an exaggerated account of the exploits of Khusrau Khan. The advance of the imperial army was marked by ravages committed equally by the Hindu and the Turkish soldiers. Every inhabited part on the route was made desolate. When the army arrived in Warangal the Hindu inhabitants fled confused. The royal forces encamped "three bow-shots" from the city. Khusrau Khan ascended an eminence from where he reconnoitred the fort. The Hindu horsemen of the Rai numbered more than 10,000 whereas the foot-soldiers were beyond computation. Despite their numerical superiority the souther-

⁷⁷ Baranī p. 398 has *مخير الدين ابورجا* Mukhīr has no meaning while Mujīr means protector against oppression. Hājīuddabīr, *Zafarul Vāli* p. 157, gives the correct name Mujīruddīn, writing on Baranī's own authority. Obviously his Ms. of Baranī had the correct spelling of the name which is Mujīruddīn Abu Rijā.

⁷⁸ Baranī p. 398.

⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 398.

ners were overwhelmed in the battle by the small Muslim cavalry.⁸⁰ Some booty of gold and jewels fell into the hands of the imperial army which pursued its enemy to the gates of the citadel and burnt down all the gardens and groves so that the "paradise of idol-worshippers became like hell." Next morning Khusrau Khan attacked the outer walls of the fortress which were breached. A large number of Hindus were slain and many others taken prisoner. Anil Mehta, the principal commandant of the fort fell in this engagement. After taking the outer walls Khusrau began the investment of the inner fortress. He ordered Khvājā Hājī, the 'Ariz, "to distribute the army to the proper posts, to dig the trenches, and spring a mine." These preparations alarmed Pratap Rudra Deva and he sent messengers to sue for peace. He agreed to surrender five districts and promised to pay a large tribute including more than 100 elephants, 12,000 horses, gold, jewels and gems beyond compute. Flushed with victory the imperial general subjected the Rai to many indignities before accepting the truce, but in the end he relinquished most of the ceded and conquered territory except the fortress of Badrkot "which the Khan had object in demanding."

After defeating the Raja of Warangal, Khusrau Khan marched towards M'abar. According to both Baranī and Isāmī he attacked Masulipatam (Patan of the Muslim historians, lying near Motupille on the mouth of Krishna) and there robbed a wealthy merchant Khvājā Taqi by name.⁸¹ Sirāj Taqi was a very rich man and having learnt that a Muslim army was coming on, had not fled. Khusrau robbed him of his jewels and wealth and killed him. 'Isāmī's version that Khusrau Khan asked Sirāj Taqi to surrender his daughter

⁸⁰ *Nūh Sipehr*, Elliot vol. III p. 560 gives the number of Muslim cavalry at 300. So vast a difference between the strength of the two forces is incredible.

⁸¹ Baranī pp. 398-99.

Futūḥ. pp. 459-60.

to his embraces,⁸² and the old Musalman preferring death to such a humiliation committed suicide, does not seem to be improbable.

Khusrau Khan marched on (up to the mouth of the river Krishna) and attacked Maithli (Motupille).⁸³ Twenty elephants and a diamond weighing six dirhams fell into his hands. Having captured this booty he entered the country of M'abar.⁸⁴ Heavy rains detained Khusrau Khan in M'abar. He had quite a large army and some captured booty. On his way to M'abar he had entertained evil designs against his master. He was an upstart and possessed an evil disposition. As in the case of 'Alāuddīn, the wealth of the Deccan had aggravated his ambitions. It has been said before that when he was settling terms of treaty with the Kakatiya Raja, Khusrau Khan had insisted on the occupation of "Badrkot, a fort as high as heaven, which the Khan had an object in demanding."⁸⁵ He had planned to kill those nobles whose confidence he did not enjoy and to rule over M'abar with the support of his forces. But Khusrau's designs were soon known to many a well-wisher of the state and Malik Tamar, fief holder of Chanderi, Malik Mal Afghān, Malik Talbagha Yaghda of Kara, Malik Tigīn and Malik Hājī, the Naib-i-Āriz, one day openly asked Khusrau to return to Delhi before his foolish plans were known to the king. As these nobles had large contingents under their command, Khusrau Khan dared not oppose them and prepared to return. But the nobles who apprised the king of Khusrau's evil designs did not even receive the attention they deserved. The sultan only ordered that Khusrau Khan should at once be sent back to Delhi. From Devagiri Khusrau was taken in a palanquin post

⁸² *Futūh*. p. 359.

⁸³ *T.M.S.* p. 85.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. 85. Badaonī, Ranking, vol. I p. 286.

⁸⁵ *Nūh Sipehr*, Elliot vol. III p. 560.

haste to Delhi where he arrived in a week's time. For the time being his grandiose schemes were shattered to pieces.

At Delhi the sultan was extremely delighted to see him, and regarded the loot of some gold and jewels and the hundred elephants as quite large a booty. The disappointed Vazir finding the sultan so joyous at his exploits began to whimper and complain against Maliks Tamar and Talbagha, who had stood in the way of fulfilment of his designs in the Deccan. The sultan, blinded by the infatuation he had for Khusrau, severely punished these well-wishers of the state without even letting them have their say. Malik Tamar was thrown into prison and his *Jagirs* were given to Khusrau. Malik Talbagha, who had exposed the Vazir a little too openly was publicly insulted, his fief was seized and he was imprisoned. These acts of flagrant injustice disgusted the courtiers and many of them resigned their honours and jobs on one pretext or another. The outcome of it all was that no one dared in future to apprise the king of Khusrau's machinations for fear of similar punishments.

Death of Qutbuddin.

After such a quick fall of his enemies the work of the Vazir became easy. The cruel treatment meted out to Maliks Tamar and Talbagha and the ascendancy of Khusrau had induced many a selfish noble to side with him.⁸⁶ Many other victims of the Sultan's licence or wrath also clung to him. Bahāuddin Dabir, who had been ordered to send his wife to the royal *haram* sought the protection of Khusrau and became one of his best supporters.⁸⁷ One day Khusrau pleaded to the king that while he was so kind to him as to send him on distant expeditions, the officers accompanying him did not obey him. They had large forces at their command and since he

⁸⁶ Baranī p. 401.

⁸⁷ Ferishtah pp. 126-27.
Zafarul Vāli p. 845.

had none of his people with him they could overlook his orders with impunity. If, therefore, he could call some relations and friends from Gujarat⁸⁸ he could be very successful in future campaigns. The request was granted and a large number of Khusrau's friends and relatives arrived in Delhi. On their arrival he took them into his confidence and gave them horses and robes and wealth. Thus, according to Ferishta, he was enabled to marshall a corps of 40,000⁸⁹ Barvaris, all his loyal supporters. He used to consult the leaders of these Barvaris and some other trusted adherents such as Yūsuf Šūfi and the sons of Qīrat Qīmar about his intended revolt. About this time the sultan went to Sarsava⁹⁰ and the Barvaris decided to kill him while he was busy in sport. But Yūsuf Šūfi and some others warned Khusrau that if they attacked the king so openly, the royal army would fall upon them and cut them down. On the contrary if the king was killed in his own palace, and the antagonistic nobles imprisoned, the way to the throne would be rendered very easy. At last it was unanimously decided to finish the king in the palace of Hazār Sitūn.⁹¹ In the meantime the sultan returned from Sarsava and the crafty Vazīr begged for another favour from him. He left the palace so very late every night, said he, that he was deprived of the company of his relations who had left their native place only for his sake. If, therefore, they could be allowed to enter the palace at night they could come and see him

⁸⁸ Baranī has, p. 402, **در بهلول و زمین گجرات بغرستم** Behalvāl may be either be Naharvala, capital of Gujarat, or Bhilmal about 50 miles west of Abu. Since Baranī always spells Naharvala correctly it is probably Bhilmal, then ruled by Parmar Rajputs. It may be recalled that Khusrau's brother Hisamuddin had collected followers at Patan to rebel against Delhi sultanate. So the ground for Khusrau's rebellion had been in preparation for some time past.

⁸⁹ Ferishta p. 127.

⁹⁰ It is a small town in the Saharanpur district of the United Provinces.

⁹¹ Baranī pp. 402-3.

there. Qutbuddīn ordered that the keys of the palace gates should be left with Khusrau's men so that they could enter the palace any time they liked. This is Baranī's version. Ibn Battūṭah, however, says that it was customary in those days that when a Hindu accepted Islam, the sultan used to present him with a robe of honour and a gold ornament. According to his narrative Khusrau Khan informed the sultan that some of his relations wanted to embrace Islam but felt shy in waiting upon him in the day time. The king allowed them to come and pay respects at night.⁹² Whatever the pretence, Khusrau was successful in securing entrance for his men into the palace at night.

In delivering the keys of the palace gates the sultan handed over his own death warrant to the Barvarīs. Every night, after it was quite quiet, about three hundred well armed Barvari's used to enter the palace and move about here and there. The people saw these armed ruffians freely enter the palace at dead of night, but they dared not inform the sultan of their movements for fear of his wrath. But intelligent people understood everything and whispers of the intended revolt of Khusrau went round the palace. Qazī Ziyāuddīn, the Vakil-i-dar, however, could not bear to see such a state of affairs. He had been tutor to the king in calligraphy and so could speak to him pretty plainly. One day he openly told the sultan of what was going on in the palace. "I rely on the mercy of Your Majesty," began the veteran officer, "and will say what I see every day. The Barvarīs enter the palace every night and everybody knows that their intentions are wicked. The life of Your Majesty is in danger. During the regime of the late sultan 'Alāuddīn if somebody drank water more than usual, the sultan was at once informed of it. It is strange indeed that while such a great noise is being made in the palace and your life itself is in jeopardy, Your Majesty is

⁹² *Ibn Battūṭah*. vol. III pp. 197-98.

quite neglectful. I request you to inquire into the matter. If there is something fishy, you may take steps to punish the miscreants. If you find the allegations unfounded, your love for Khusrau will only be increased.”⁹³ The sultan at once lost his temper and scolded the Qazī in unbecoming terms. In place of holding an inquiry, he repeated to his favourite all that the Qāzī had said. Khusrau at once began to shed crocodile tears. “Since Your Majesty bestows upon me your favours”, said Khusrau, “the great nobles are anxiously trying to bring about my death.” Quṭbuddīn consoled the cunning Vazīr saying that he was the only person in whom the sultan reposed his implicit trust.

Late on the same night as Qazī Ziyāuddīn, the superintendent of the night guard was taking his rounds, and very few persons had remained in the palace, Randhol, a relation⁹⁴ of Khusrau Khan, entered the palace with a few Barvarīs and accosted him. He offered the Qāzī a *pān* and while they were talking, Jahariya, another Barvarī, shot an arrow at the Qāzī and killed him on the spot. This cold blooded murder created consternation in the Hazār Sitūn, which was now filled with Barvarīs. Quṭbuddīn heard the noise from his chamber and asked Khusrau Khan to go out and see what the matter was. The clever intriguer came out on the terrace, shouted a few words to show that he was scolding somebody, and then returned to the king’s presence saying that some horses had been let loose and people were trying to catch them.⁹⁵ Just then Jahariya dashed towards the king’s private apartments and killed its chief guards Ibrāhīm and Is-ḥāq.⁹⁶ Then alone did Quṭbuddīn realise the situation and he tried to escape into the *haram*. But Khusrau was too

⁹³ Baranī p. 405.

⁹⁴ Baranī p. 406 has دیاے خسرو خان . Niya means grandfather as well as maternal uncle.

⁹⁵ Baranī pp. 406-07

⁹⁶ Baranī p. 407, Ferishtah p. 128.

cunning to lose him at that stage and caught him by the hair. The king had drunk hard that night and due to his intoxications and physical strength he easily threw the traitor on the ground and sat tight upon him. Jahariya reached the spot, which was indicated to him by the shouts of Khusrau pinned under the weight of the sultan.⁹⁷ He struck off the head of Qutbuddin and threw it down the battlements of the palace. A few servants of the king, who had been left on the upper storey, also fell to the daggers of the Hindus. According to the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* Qutbuddin was murdered on the night of the 5th of Rabiul Avval 720 (April 26th, 1320).⁹⁸

An Estimate of Mubarak Shah.

The way in which Qutbuddin met his death goes to show how depraved and foolish he was. The qualities of generosity and kindheartedness with which he was rewarded by his early hardships disappeared on his attaining to unlimited power. He had received little education and from whatever little experience of life he had, he had refused to learn that unbridled debauchery led to disaster. The grosser appetites of man dominated his self and he practised every vice that goes to debase human nature. It need hardly be mentioned that the king did not say the daily prayers and did not observe the fast of Ramzan.

Qutbuddin's arrogance knew no bounds. In his pride he ordered barbaric punishments, and the tortures inflicted

⁹⁷ *Barani* pp. 307-8. *Futūh*, p. 363.

⁹⁸ Amīr Khusrāu gives the date to be Jamadi-us Sani 720 (July 1320). The text of *T.M.S.* p. 86, wrongly has 721 H. but the translator's Ms. had the correct year 720 H. (*T.M.S.* Trs. p. 86). Ferishta also wrongly has 721. *Tab. Akb.* and *Badaoni* have 720. Later events lead us to the conclusion that the date of *T.M.S.* is preferable to that of Khusrāu's *Nūh Sipehr*. Also see the last footnote in the next chapter.

upon Harpal Deva and the relations of Yoghresh bear witness to his perverted mentality. So haughty and malicious was he that he refused to acknowledge the salutations of a pious man like Shaikh Nizāmuddin Aulia; and while great monarchs like 'Alāuddin addressed themselves only as "Yaminul Khilāfat" (Right hand of the Khalifā) or "Nāsir-i-Amīrul Mauminīn" (Defender of the faithful),⁹⁹ Qutbuddin took the title of Khalifā to himself. He declared himself "Al Imām-ul-Āzam, Khalifā-i-Rabbul 'Almīn", "Khilāfat-ul-Lah", and "Amīrul Mauminīn".¹⁰⁰ Not only was he keen on adopting pompous titles, he had in fact a passion for the novel, the beautiful. His coins and inscriptions stand out for their boldness of execution and variety of inscriptions. His coins are round and square, of gold, silver, billon and copper. The square coin was for the first time introduced by him in 718 H.¹⁰¹ The engravings on his inscriptions are "typically ornamental naqsh", in *sulus* and in *tughra* "of intricate type".¹⁰² He patronized scholarship, was fond of music and composed verses too.¹⁰³ But the fact that the fear of royalty vanished completely, and the prestige of the Delhi sultanate lost its lustre during his regime, prove

⁹⁹ Nelson Wright: pp. 88-95.

Rogers: *Catalogue of Coins*. p. 46.

¹⁰⁰ Nelson Wright pp. 107-109.

"*Chronicles*" pp. 179-81.

Lanepoole: *Muhammadian States* pp. 44-48.

¹⁰¹ Nelson Wright: p. 107.

¹⁰² *Epig. Indo-Moslemica*, 1938 pp. 38-39.

Ibid. 1931-38 p. 48.

Ibid. 1937 pp. 49-50.

¹⁰³ Baranī p. 382.

Tab. Akb. p. 76.

that he was a worthless king. It was his good luck that so long as he ruled no Mongol invasion threatened the peace of the country, no famine devastated the land, military enterprises were successful and rebellions were quickly suppressed; yet his ways disgusted the nobility and encouraged rebellions. Qutbuddin well deserved the doom meted out to him.

CHAPTER XXI

NAṢIRUDDIN KHUSRAU SHAH (1320)

Quṭbuddīn's murder saw the accession of Khusrau Khan to the throne. Khusrau was not a Khaljī. He belonged to the Barvārī or Parvārī¹ caste of Gujarat. Ziyāuddīn, indignant at the very idea of a convert's accession, hurls every sort of abuse on the king and his tribe. And since his short reign was not popular, the invectives of the historian become relentless. Thus he declares Khusrau to be "faithless and cunning, dishabille and of low origin (بد اصل)." ² "A low born menial" and abuses of this kind are repeatedly inserted in Baranī's narrative.³ But these are merely personal aspersions on Khusrau and do not throw any light on the tribe or caste to which he belonged. Depending on Baranī, 'Iṣāmī, Yahya, Niẓāmuddīn and other later Persian chroniclers aver that Khusrau Khan belonged to a low caste of Gujarat. Following on their narratives European scholars like Briggs and Thomas think the Parvārīs to be worse than scavengers. Briggs declares that "the Parwari is a Hindoo outcaste, who eats flesh of all kinds, and is deemed so unclean as not to be admitted to build a house within the town."⁴ Since Briggs had thought that Parvār must be the same as Parvārī, and

¹ The word is variously spelt by medieval historians. Baranī writes Barvār (بروار) and Barvārān (برواران). Badaonī also has Barvār. Khusrau has Barado (برادو), 'Iṣāmī Parāo (براء) and Yahya Barāo. Niẓāmuddīn and Ferishtah have Parvār (بروار). Hājiuddabīr spells it Rao.

² Baranī p. 390.

³ Ibid. p. 391.

⁴ Briggs' Ferishtah vol. I p. 387.

Molesworth defined Parvārī as an individual of low caste, chiefly employed as village watchmen, gate-keepers, porters and said to be synonymous with Dhed and Mahār.”⁵ Thomas was not slow to conform to Briggs’ opinion.⁶ W. Haig also did not choose to differ from his predecessors and writes that the corps of 40,000 Barvārs organised by Khusrau Khan about which Ferishtah makes a mention “was largely composed of and exclusively commanded by members of his own despised tribe.”⁷

On the contrary some other European scholars have declared Khusrau Khan as belonging to the high caste of Rajputs. Thus James Bird⁸ and Bayley⁹ think that Barvār or Parvār is nothing else than Parmār (Rajputs) and confound Parvār with Parmār.

Now, neither of the conclusions arrived at by the European writers is convincing. No contemporary historian has specifically stated the real caste or tribe of Khusrau Khan. Baranī, and following upon him some later historians repeatedly abuse Khusrau and in the course of their personal aspersions add one of low origin. On the contrary there are facts which go to prove that the Barvarīs were a people of strong mettle and independent disposition. Amīr Khusrau, a contemporary authority, praises the Barvarīs for their gallantry and sacrifice. He says that they were men brave and courageous, and were employed by the Rajas of Hindustan for whom they were al-

⁵ Molesworth: *Marathi-English Dictionary*, Second Edition p. 492.

Steingass: *Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 169 gives the meaning of Baraon as a sweeper of the streets, a dustman.

⁶ Thomas: *Chronicles*, p. 184 footnote.

⁷ *Camb. Hist. of India* vol. III p. 123.

⁸ *History of Gujarat*, Translation of *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadi* p. 167.

⁹ *Local Muhammedan Dynasties, Gujarat* p. 41 footnote.

ways prepared to lay down their lives.¹⁰ Baranī also testifies to their readiness to lay down their lives while describing Targhi's insurrection in Gujarat in the time of Muḥammad Tughlaq. He says that in the battle near Kadi Pattan about one hundred rebels attacked the sultan's body guard like the brave Baravān-i-Fida'iyān, who carried their lives on the palm of their hands".¹¹ Hisāmuddīn, according to Baranī, planned a revolt against Qutbuddin Mubarak with the help of all the renowned Barvārs of Gujarat.¹² "The renowned Barvārs" cannot belong to a low caste because a low caste cannot be renowned in Hindu society. Ferishtah at one place clearly says that Khusrau Khan belonged to the Pahlvāns of Gujarat.¹³ Ibn Battūṭah also praises the Barvārs and says that "Khusrau Khan gathered a troop of Indians chosen from among the bravest and greatest, his brother the Khan-i-Khanān was among them".¹⁴ In these circumstances it is impossible to believe that they belonged to the low caste of Dhed and Mahār. The victories of Khusrau Khan in south India and the gallant fight he and his relations put against Ghāzī Tughlaq clearly show that he did not belong to a low caste.

But if the above inference is correct it can also not be said that the Barvār was so high a caste as the Parmār.

¹⁰ *Tughlaqnamah* Aurangabad text p. 19 verses 338-39:—

بود این طایفه در پیش رایان - که جانباز ندب فرما، رایان

¹¹ Baranī p. 519 has

بر طریق فدائیان برادران جانرا بر کف دست نهاده

¹² Baranī p. 397 has

برادران نام گرفته

¹³ Ferishtah p. 124 has

برادران نام گرفته

¹⁴ Ibn Battūṭah vol. III p. 198.

No historian, contemporary or later, says so. Hājiuddabīr who wrote in Gujarat and had a special knowledge of the history of that part of the country joins Baranī in giving a low origin to Khusrāu Khan. Professor Hodivala rightly observes that "The *real* name of the tribe or caste to which Khusrāu Khan belonged cannot be ascertained."¹⁵ All that is known is that he and his Barvārī associates were brave and courageous, clever and unscrupulous.¹⁶

Early Life.

Khusrāu Khan seems to have been converted to Muhammadanism in early childhood and given the name Hasan. When 'Ainulmulk Multānī sacked Malwa in 1305 Hasan and his brother fell into his hands. At the imperial court Hasan was chosen for the body of the personal slaves of sultan 'Alāuddīn¹⁷ and assigned to Malik Shādī, a nobleman, under whose care he grew up.¹⁸ When Qutbuddīn Mubarak Shah ascended the throne he became highly enamoured of the youthful Hasan and in the very first year of his reign he bestowed upon him the title of Khusrāu Khan, the office of Vazarat and all the dignities and jagīrs of Malik Kāfūr. In elevating Khusrāu Khan Qutbuddīn had refused to gain from the experience of 'Alāuddīn who had conferred extraordinary distinctions upon

¹⁵ Hodivala p. 369.

¹⁶ For discussion on the caste of the Barvārīs see Hodivala pp. 369-71.

Ishwari Prasad: *History of Qarauna Turks* vol. I pp. 8-9 footnote.

¹⁷ Baranī p. 381.

¹⁸ The author of *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* (completed 842 H.) writes that Khusrāu Khan was brought up by Malik Shādī of the court of 'Alāuddīn. *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* Allahabad University Ms. fol. 126

his favourite Malik Kāfūr. As seen above Khusrau Khan proved as much an anathema for the Qutbī as Malik Kāfūr had been for the 'Alaī' regime.

After the gruesome murder of Qutbuddīn, Khusrau Khan sent for all the high officials of the State like Malik 'Ainulmulk Multānī, who had then arrived from Devagiri,¹⁹ Malik Vahīduddīn Qureshi, Malik Fakhruddīn Jūnā, M. Bahāuddīn Dabīr and the sons of Qara Beg. He kept them under semi-imprisonment that night and compelled them to promise allegiance to him. While the usurper was busy in establishing his power. Randhol, Ḥisāmuddīn, Jahariya and many other partisans of Khusrau entered the royal *haram* and began to perpetrate horrible crimes. At the outset they finished all the possible claimants to the throne one after another after effecting a thorough search with the help of torches.²⁰ Farid Khan Abu Bakr Khan and three other young sons of 'Alāuddīn namely 'Alī, Bahā and 'Usmān were murdered in cold blood.²¹ The mothers of Qutbuddīn and Shihābuddīn were also killed and many an inmate of the *haram* was ravished. Such ghastly punishments were inflicted upon the innocent, says Ziyā Baranī, "as no infidel could perpetrate even in the land of infidelity".²²

Not being confronted with any opposition whatsoever, the regicide ascended the throne and styled himself as Sultan Nāsīruddīn Khusrau Shah. He conferred titles and honours on the people, raising to high positions many of his favourites and those who had helped him in securing the throne. Besides, he ordered the execution of some of the nobles risen to eminence during Qutbuddīn's reign. Randhol was given the title of Rai Rayān and the house and property of Qāzī

¹⁹ Ferishtah p. 128.

²⁰ *Tughlaqnāmah* p. 26.

²¹ Ibid pp. 23-32.

²² Baranī p. 408.

Khan. The wife and children of the Qāzī saved themselves by effecting their escape on the previous night. Ḥisāmud-dīn, the sultan's brother, was married to a daughter of 'Alāuddīn²³ and the title of Khan-i-Khanān was bestowed upon him. Bahāuddīn Dabīr received the title of Azamul Mulk and the son of Qirat Qīmār was made Shayastā Khan. Among others who obtained titles were Yūsuf Sūfī who became Sūfī Khan, Ikhtiyāruddīn Sumbal who became Ḥātīm Khan and Malik Kamāluddīn Sūfī who was made the Vakīl-i-dar. Khusrau did not forget to keep in good humour all those who hated him. Thus 'Ainulmulk Multānī was made 'Alim Khan and Malik Fakhruddīn Jūnā was appointed Akhūrbeg. The Vazārat was entrusted to Tājulmulk and Vaḥīduddīn Qureshi, and the offices of Malik Qarā Beg were entrusted to his sons. Everybody, willingly or unwillingly, submitted to the new regime and the new king was proclaimed from the pulpits of the mosques as the Leader of the Musalmans (Amīrul Mauminīn).

According to Maulana Ziyāuddīn, however, the accession of Khusrau ushered in a reign of untold misery for the true believers. On the fifth day of his accession, says he, idol worship was begun inside the palace. Khusrau Khan usurped the (chief) wife of Quṭbuddīn and the Barvārīs took possession of Muslim girls. Copies of the Quran were torn to pieces and used as seats for idols which were placed in the niches (*mehṛābs*) of the mosques. In short infidelity was in the ascendant and the followers of the true faith were subjected to humiliations unprecedented in the history of the sultanate. The sultan thought of enhancing the power and dignity of the Hindus and a large number of them gathered round him.²⁴ Treasures were thrown open and money was freely distributed to them. All this the chronicler writes

²³ *Subah Sādiq*. Bankipore Ms. fol. 1673.

²⁴ Baranī p. 411.

with the passion of a staunch Muslim who could not tolerate a convert ascending the throne; particularly one whose accession was accompanied by cruel punishments inflicted on Muslim women and children. But the narrative of Baranī suffers from gross exaggerations. It is not surprising that some Barvāris worshipped idols inside the palace and tore up copies of the Quran since they had known the Muslim conquerors breaking temples and burning religious books of the Hindus. In a spirit of revenge the Barvāris did all this, and the sultan on account of his obligation to them for securing him the throne did not interfere with what they did. Yahya is quite correct when he says, "The Hindus (rather Barvāris) confident of their position as the relations of Nāsiruddīn Khusrau Khan, subjected the Muslims to cruelty..."²⁵ But the assertion of Baranī that Khusrau Shah tried to establish Hindu Raj is wholly incorrect. Khusrau had been converted when he was a mere boy, so that even his Hindu name has not come down to us. In the wars that he fought in the Deccan he was as cruel to the Hindu kings and inhabitants as any other Muslim conqueror. There he broke Hindu temples, and Amīr Khusrau graphically describes the humiliations to which the king of Telingana was subjected by him. Not only Khusrau, but his brother and a number of other relatives also had accepted Islam. These facts clearly show that Khusrau always regarded himself as a Musalman and there is not a single instance to prove that his behaviour or inclination was anti-Islamic. Baranī nowhere says that

²⁵ *T.M.S.* p. 87. The so-called cruelties of Nāsiruddīn were multiplied by later writers. Thus Ibn Battūtah writes that he prohibited cow-slaughter and ordered the Musalmans to paste the walls of their houses with cow dung,—a Hindu practice. Nizāmuddīn Ahmad goes a step further and says that Khusrau ordered destruction of mosques (*Tab. Akb.* p. 187). It is really strange how these atrocities escaped the notice of Baranī, Isāmī and Amīr Khusrau. In all probability Battūtah and Nizāmuddīn indulge in gross exaggerations.

Nāṣiruddīn persecuted Muslims simply because they were Muslims. On the other hand he admits that so long as Nāṣiruddīn reigned his *khutbah* was read from the pulpits of the mosques and the title of Amīrul Mauminīn was struck on his coins.²⁶

A glance at the list of the newly appointed officers, again, would clearly show that almost all of them had held various offices in the reign of his predecessor. There is scarcely any doubt that some of them were raised for being Khusrau's allies, but one thing is evident that except Rādhola and one or two others, all the Barvārīs dropped into the back-ground after Nāṣiruddīn's accession. The new king relied on the trusted nobles of Delhi; and he was so anxious about their good-will and co-operation that he even resorted to a *coup d' état* to secure their support. At the capital he had not done anything prejudicial to the interests of the Musalmāns. In the provinces also he left the Muslim governors undisturbed, and as later events show, most of them were quite satisfied with the revolution that had come about at Delhi. It is impossible that the governors of Multan, Samanah and Ajmer would have helped Khusrau Shah in the establishment of a Hindu Raj against Ghazī Tughlaq who had proclaimed himself as the champion of Islam. Moreover, the army of Delhi, which consisted mostly of muslim soldiers, could never have fought on the side of Khusrau Shah against Ghazī Malik had they in the least considered Khusrau to be inimical to Musalmāns. If at the time of actual warfare a portion of the royal army deserted to the Tughlaqs it was simply because Nāṣiruddīn's cause was fore-doomed to failure and not because they had deserted a champion of Hinduism and gone over to a champion of Islam.²⁷ It is, therefore,

²⁶ Nelson Wright: p. 104.

²⁷ Cf. in this connection the desertion of Delhi noble to 'Alāuddīn's camp a quarter of a century back. They had left the sons of Jalāluddīn not because they were worse Musalmāns than 'Alāuddīn but because their cause was sure to fail.

evident that Nāṣiruddīn was in no way prejudiced against the Muslims, and the accusation of Baranī that under his regime neither the honour nor the religion of Muslims was safe, is quite wrong.

Nāṣiruddīn had obtained the throne by murdering Quṭbuddīn and assassinating all the royal princes. Naturally his conduct had made him unpopular among his subjects. Although the majority of the people at Delhi had reconciled themselves to the new government, a certain section of the nobility was bitterly opposed to the rule of the regicide. Day and night did they plan to overthrow the usurper. Prominent among these nobles was Malik Fakhruddīn Jūnā, who was ever in search of an opportunity to fly away from Delhi and join his father Ghāzī Tughlaq, Warden of the Marches at Deopālpur. The veteran warrior was very indignant at the wrongs that had been done to the family of sultan 'Alāuddīn and "writhed like a snake" to wreak vengeance upon Khusrau Shah. But he could not rise in open revolt against him so long as "the light of his eyes", Malik Jūnā, was there at the capital.²⁸ Fakhruddīn used to write to his father about the state of affairs at Delhi and messages between the two were constantly exchanged through the services of one 'Alī Yaghdi. Ghāzī Tughlaq exhorted his son to reach Deopālpur from where they could organize opposition against the king and Malik Jūnā one day astounded the court by riding off with a few chosen followers to Deopālpur.²⁹ He was careful to take the son of Behram Aiba with him on his flight. Khusrau Shah at once sent a force under the

²⁸ *Tughlaqnāmah* pp. 62-64.

²⁹ Amīr Khusrau says that Malik Jūnā had received many favours from Nāṣiruddīn but on one occasion he became dissatisfied for some reason and finding an opportunity fled away. He is supported by Yahya in this statement. *Tughlaqnāmah* p. 40

T.M.S. p. 88.

son of Qirat Qīmār in pursuit of the fugitive, but the latter eluded the pursuers and safely reached Sirsuti (modern Sarsa). On his arrival there he found that his father had already garrisoned its fort by sending Malik Sarbata there.

Relieved of the anxiety about his son, Ghayāsuddīn set to work for the overthrow of his avowed enemy. He sent letters to governors of various provinces requesting them to assist him in overthrowing Khusrau who was guilty of being an infidel and faithless to his patron. It was an appeal made to the Muslims because to the Tughlaqs the cause of Islam seemed to be in danger. "The slogan of revenge for religion, so common yet so effective in the history of the Muslims, was now started."³⁰ 'Alī Alkaūs, the Amīr of Deopulpur and Behrām Aiba, governor of Uchch joined Ghazi Malik, but Malik Maghlati governor of Multan refused to side with him. The diplomat Ghazi instigated the people of Multan to rebel against their governor and Maghlati was killed by his own men.³¹ Muḥammad 'Shah, the Amīr of Sivistān, had been imprisoned by his own nobles but a letter from Ghazi became a "talisman of his release." The people set him free and he set to work for the cause of the Tughlaqs.³² Malik Hoshang, fief holder of Ajmer showed signs of genuine support but in reality his "feet of determination" was lax." 'Ainulmulk, the governor of Malwa, Dhar and Ujjain at first hesitated but then promised to help the Ghāzī.³³ But Malik Yaklakhi was not content with sending a curt refusal to the Tughlaqs. He marched out to fight the Ghāzī but was killed by his own men.³⁴ Ac-

³⁰ Tripathi: *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 56.

³¹ *Tughlaqnāmah*, p. 63.

³² *Ibid.* p. 64.

³³ *Ibid.* p. 67.

³⁴ *Tughlaqnāmah*, pp. 68-70.

according to 'Isāmī, Gul Chandar and Sahaj Rai, the Khokhar chiefs, also joined the banner of the Tughlaqs.³⁵

Thus did Ghāzi Malik, after welcoming his supporters and setting aside his enemies, prepare for a final struggle for the throne. It is not possible, on the study of Baranī, to impute motives to Ghāzi Malik's sincere efforts to overthrow Nāsiruddīn, but undoubtedly he had given the war a religious colour. To his fervent appeals for help in the holy cause the Muslim governors of Multan, Sivistān and Samanah, and many other nobles of Delhi had sent a b'unt refusal. Their action clearly shows that they did not trust Ghāzi Malik's high-toned appeals. Moreover, the Ghāzi had sent the circular letter to the governors of the provinces on the western frontier only. Had he sent the appeal to the governors of all the Indian provinces, perhaps his disappointment would have been greater. It was only Behram Aiba who had wholeheartedly supported the Ghāzi, and his motives in taking the decision are not far to seek when it is remembered that Malik Jūnā had taken Aiba's son with him when he had escaped from Delhi. How could Ghayāsuddīn have been a saviour of Islam when most of the governors and people of northern India and the greatest Musalmans of the day Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Aulia never recognised him as one? The truth appears to be that in spite of his emphatic professions the motives of Malik Tughlaq in fighting for the throne were quite secular and he had risen against Nāsiruddīn only after his son had sent him full information about the conditions at Delhi and had joined him at Deopapur.

Events at Delhi also had taken a new turn. From the very beginning Khusrau had great apprehensions from Ghayāsuddīn, and it was on account of him that he had given particular attention to Malik Jūnā and had appointed him

³⁵ *Futūh*. pp. 369, 372, 375.

to the high office of Akhūrbeg.³⁶ Ever since Malik Jūnā had fled from the court the real intentions of the Tughlaqs had become all the more manifest. Nāsiruddīn set to organise his forces for future emergency. Intelligence of the happenings in the various provinces caused by the diplomacy of Ghāzī Malik had reached his ears and the deaths of Maliks Maghlati and Yaklakhi had sufficiently alarmed him. Although Khusrau had fought many battles in the Deccan yet he was no match for the veteran warrior Ghāzī, who had struck terror into the hearts of the Mongol invaders. Khusrau Shah gave the command of his forces to Sūfī Khan. With the troops he already had, and some others whom gold had secured for him, he prepared to fight the Tughlaq adventurer. A portion of his army, some 40,000 strong, marched under the command of Khan-i-Khanān, the king's brother, to check the advance of Ghāzī Malik from the very start. They marched to Sirsuti but failed to capture it. Then they proceeded onward to Deopulpur to give battle to Ghayāsuddīn there. The rival forces met in an open field somewhere near Dabhali or Dalili, then a village between Sirsuti and Deopulpur. After a short skirmish the royal forces were utterly routed and they fled pell-mell. Their youthful commander fled from the field of battle leaving behind elephants and horses and treasures to be seized by the victors. A large number of the vanquished were taken prisoners. The intelligence of this terrible disaster was conveyed to the king. It broke his spirits and frightened his partisans.

After the conclusion of this battle Ghāzī Tughlaq reorganised his forces for the final encounter. By now his financial resources had become quite satisfactory. While at Deopulpur, he had come to know of a caravan of horses and goods meant for the sultan of Delhi and had waylaid

³⁶ *Zafarul Vāli* p. 848.

it.³⁷ Again in the battle fought near Sirsuti he had obtained much loot. So far as his fighting force was concerned, it consisted of the brave warriors of the northwest who had served him for several years in the past and on whose fidelity he could put implicit trust. The right wing of his forces was commanded by Bahāuddīn, his sister's son, and in support of this young general was deputed Bahram Aiba of Uchch. The left wing was commanded by Malik Jūnā and with him were deputed Shihāb Ghaurī and Mīr Shādī, two other veteran warriors of repute. The centre was commanded by the brave Tughlaq himself. With his forces thus marshalled Ghāzi Tughlaq arrived by forced marches near Delhi and encamped in the vicinity of Raziya's tomb in Indrapat.

Khusrau Shah on his part also prepared to fight a last desperate battle. He brought out all the treasures from Kilughari and Delhi, gave his soldiers two and a half months' salary in advance, and tried all means to prevent any sort of disaffection from spreading among his troops. But so confident had the people become of Ghāzi's victory that many a soldier who had accepted Khusrau's gold gave up all idea of fighting and went home. Indeed the demoralised army of Delhi was no match to the sturdy soldiers who followed in the wake of Ghāzi Malik "and to whom the present war seemed to be nothing short of a Jihād."³⁸ In his extreme despondency and nervousness Nāsiruddīn burnt all records and account books of the imperial treasury. He held a council of war and consulted his supporters regarding the course of action to be adopted. It was decided to fight to a finish. The sultan marched out of Sirī with his nobles and followers and encamped near the Hauz-i-'Alāi. 'Iṣāmī details the marshalling of Khusrau's army. The sultan, the Khan-i-Khanān

³⁷ *Tughlaqnāmah*, p. 77.

³⁸ Ishwari Prasad: *Qarauna Turks* vol. I p. 13.

and Maldeva,³⁹ Raja of Chittor, took up positions in the centre. Sumbal, who had received the title of Hātim Khan and the post of Amīr-i-Hājib, commanded the right wing with Sūfi Khan as second in command. The left was in the charge of Shayasta Khan, Talbagha Nagori and Randhol.⁴⁰ Having thus organised his forces Nāṣiruddīn took up a position of great advantage, not far from Indrapat where the Ghāzī had pitched his tents. Behind him stood the gigantic fort of Delhi on which he could rely for provisions in case of emergency, and in front of him were a large number of groves and gardens to save him from terrific assaults. But the advantage of his position was marred by the betrayal of 'Ainulmulk, who took the road to Dhar and Ujjain on the eve of the day of battle. His desertion broke the heart of Khusrāu Shah who saw around him naught but despondency.

It was on a Friday that the belligerent armies came in conflict on the plain of Lohravat, a village now untraceable but then surely situated between Delhi and the Hauz-i-Khās. Khusrāu Shah himself commanded his troops. According to Yahya a short but stiff engagement was fought in which the royalists hurled back the forces of Ghāzī Malik.⁴¹ But in this battle Malik Talbagha Nagori, one of the staunchest supporters of Nāṣiruddīn, was killed; and Shayasta Khan, son of Qirat Qīmār, fled away from the field of battle, although he did not forget to plunder the camp of Ghāzī during his flight. In spite of these losses Khusrāu Khan held on till the evening, fighting gallantly and desperately all the time. His stubborn resistance moved Ghāzī Malik to a quick and determined action. He collected his troops and exhorted

³⁹ 'Isāmī does not say who he was, but in all probability he was king of Chittor whom 'Alāuddīn had installed there after Khizr Khan's evacuation. Maldeva died in 1321.

⁴⁰ *Futūḥ* pp. 374-75.

⁴¹ *T.M.S.* p. 91.

them to fight with all the might they could muster. His stirring appeal had the desired effect and about three hundred of his loyal and chosen horses fell fiercely upon their adversaries. The force of this charge made an irreparable breach in the ranks of Nāṣiruddīn. The Delhi army sustained a crushing defeat and fled in confusion.

Khusrau Khan had lost the battle. Realising that all was over for him now, he left the battle field and escaped towards Tilpat. A whole day's battle had exhausted him completely and he craved for some rest. As night came on he concealed himself in the garden of Malik Shādī, his patron of yore. All night long he stayed there but the next day they seized him and struck off his head. This is Baranī's version. Amīr Khusrau also gives a similar account while Ibn Battūṭah gives a little different and more detailed account. He says that Khusrau successfully concealed himself in the garden of Malik Shādī but when he could not bear the pangs of hunger he gave his ring to the gardener to fetch him some food. The ring was detected and its owner caught. Ghazī Malik first treated Khusrau kindly but later on ordered him to be beheaded at the same spot where he had got Quṭbuddīn murdered, and his corpse to be thrown down the palace from where he had thrown the deadbody of Mubarak Shah. According to Amīr Khusrau, Nāṣiruddīn was killed on Saturday, 1st Sh'abān 720 (September 6th 1320).⁴²

⁴² The date given by Amīr Khusrau appears to be quite correct. Numismatical evidence shows that Ghayāsuddīn Tughlaq ascended in 720 and not in 721 H. as Yahya and Ferishtah say. Nelson Wright, pp. 112-15.

Thomas: *Chronicles*: pp. 158, 176-92.

According to Baranī Nāṣiruddīn reigned for four and a half months. He, therefore, ascended the throne some time in Rabiul Avaal so as to complete four and a half months in the beginning of Sh'abān. It is, therefore, evident that Yahya's date of Nāṣiruddīn's accession (5th Rabiul Avval 720, April 20, 1320) and Amīr Khusrau's date of his death (1st Sh'abān 720, September 6th, 1320) are the most probable.

Thus died Nāṣiruddīn Khusrāu after a restless reign of four months and some days. He had lived a life of great vicissitudes. Captured in the sack of Malwa, he began his life as a slave. From that low position he rose from post to post and ultimately attained to the highest dignity of sovereign through favouritism, through cunning and through his own merit. The orthodox Baranī, to whom this low born infidel was nothing short of a devil upon earth, hurls every short of abuse upon Khusrāu Shah. But other historians like Amīr Khusrāu, Yahya and even the orthodox Badaonī give him just praise. He secured the throne by such crafty yet admirable means that he deserves our praise for his planning intellect and dexterity. Once he had gained possession of the crown he tried to preserve it with all the might he could command. It was not his fault that his reign was so short. His only fault was that he had trusted too much to a nobility and a soldiery who were accustomed to worship the rising sun and desert a weak cause. Deceived by his followers and deserted by his troops, he stood on the field of battle till the last hour of the fight, and directed the remnant of his army with perseverance that deserves our applause. The last days of Khusrāu call forth for a pardon of his early life. He had lived a life of scandal but died the death of a soldier.

APPENDIX A

~ 'ALĀUDDĪN AND NEPAL

B. Durga Prasad has published a silver coin¹ struck in Nepal in the time of 'Alāuddīn Khaljī. He obtained it in Benares along with another copper coin of Nepal of the Lachchhavi dynasty of the 1st century A.D.

The coin weighs 151 grains, about six grains less than the weight of a silver *tanka* of the time of 'Alāuddīn. It is 1.25 inches in size. On the obverse the legend in Arabic reads on the margin "Sikandar us Šānī Nāṣirul Amīrul Mauminīn Yāminul Khilāfat" and in the middle within a small Ashtakoṇ or 'double square there is a small winged lion of the Nepal type. On the reverse within a triple circle the Arabic legend reads "Al Āzam Assulaṭān Abul Muzaffar Muḥammad Shah Alāud Dunya va Dīn", with a small conch in the margin. In the middle, within a small circle, the words "Sri Sri"—with two crescents and stars above each and a floral design below, are inscribed in Nagri characters of the 13th century. The Arabic characters of the legend are rather crude, and it appears that although the die-cutter copied the legend from an original coin of the sultan yet he did not know Arabic and has committed several mistakes in engraving the Arabic characters.

The title Sri Sri and the two crescents with small dots representing the triplicate, the Shankhu (Chonch) and the circle of the beads are exactly in the later silver coins of Prithvī Nārāyan Sāh Deva and Shri Gurvan Yadha Vikram Sāh Deva of Nepal. B. Durga Prasad further adds that the *tantrik* Ashtakoṇ and the winged lion with raised tail are

¹ *J.A.S.B.*, Numismatic Supplement, No. XLII, 1929, pp 37-38.

Obv.



Rev.



The unique coin of
'Alāuddīn Khaljī struck in Nepal

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peculiar to the Nepal coinage and establish the mintage of this coin in Nepal.

The coin is interesting in so far that it is the only evidence which alludes to 'Alāuddīn's connection with Nepal. In the contemporary Persian chronicles there is no mention of the sultan's conquest of that country. Contemporary Hindu accounts, however, allude to the conquest of Nepal by Harasimha Deva of Karnatakula dynasty, the Hindu Raja of Mithila in the time of 'Alāuddīn Khalji. Mithila, comprising of about the north and north-west of present Bihar, was not affected by the Muhammadan invaders of the 12th and 13th centuries, who marched into Bengal via south Bihar leaving the territory north of the Ganga undisturbed. Harasimha Deva, the king contemporary of 'Alāuddīn, had a fairly long reign, and under him had served able ministers like Devaditya, his son Vīrēshvar Thakur and his grandson Chandrēshvar Thakur. Chandrēshvar was an erudite scholar and wrote many treatises in Sanskrit. His main works are *Kṛitya Ratnākar*, *Dāna Ratnākar*, *Vivād Ratnākar*, *Sudh Ratnākar*, *Grahasat Ratnākar*, and *Pūja Ratnākar*. In *Kṛitya*, *Dāna* and *Vivād Ratnākars* Chandrēshvar claims to have conquered Nepal for his king Harasimha. In *Vivād Ratnākar* he describes² how after his great victory he performed the ceremony of Tula Puruṣa or religious gift of gold of the donor's weight to Brahmans etc. in Saka 1236 (A.D. 1314).

रसगुणभुज चन्द्रैः सम्मिते शाकबेषे
सहसि धवल पद्मे वाग्मती सिन्धुतीरे ।
अदित तुलितपुष्पैस्ताला स्वर्णशिं
निधिर खिलगुणानामुत्तरः सोमनाथः ॥

(Translation: In the moon fortnight of the month of Pūṣa 1236 'Saka, Somnath, who was an ocean filled with all good

² *Vivād Ratnākar* Bib. Ind. Text pp. 670-71.

qualities, offered in charity gold equivalent to his weight on the banks of the river Vāgmati).

The conquest referred to above was, therefore, undertaken some time before 1314 when the ceremony of Tula Puruś was performed. The capital of Harasimha was at Simrampur (modern Simraon) on the borders of Nepal. It is not improbable that Chandrēshvar who was the minister of peace and war (सान्निवि विग्रहिक) may have carried a successful expedition into the Nepal territory and may have snatched some portion of Nepal. But Sanskrit writers depict their slightest success with as much exaggeration as Persian chroniclers, and it is just possible that the conquest of Nepal by Candrēshvar may have only been an ordinary raid into that country.³ Thus it is clear that in the time of 'Alāuddīn an Indian army had marched into the Nepal territory.

Dāna Ratnākar describes Chandrēshvar to having rescued the earth flooded by the Malecchas, but the date when Mithila was attacked by the Muslims in the first decade of the 14th century is not known.⁴ It is however certain that when Ghayāsuddīn Tughlaq marched to Bengal in 724 H. (1324 A.D.) he went through Tirhut and by that time Muslims had gained strength in Mithila. But there is no reason to believe that Mithila had been attacked by 'Alāuddīn and its king had acknowledge the sultan's suzerainty and struck coins in his name, so that when the Raja conquered Nepal coins were struck there in his name as well as in the name of the sultan of Delhi.

The discovery of a single coin of the type mentioned above cannot lead us to surmise that 'Alāuddīn sent an army to the far off country of Nepal and compelled the ruling

³ *J.A.S.B.* 1903 part I p. 14.

⁴ *J.A.S.B.* 1915 pp. 405-33.

Raja to acknowledge his suzerainty and strike coins in his name. Nor is there any mention of commercial relations existing between the kingdoms of Delhi and Nepal, so as to indicate that the coin may be one of the so many used for exchange purposes. The discovery of such a coin is full of interest indeed, but until some further information is available not much can be said on this perplexing point.

APPENDIX B

DID MALIK KĀFÜR RAID RAMESHVARAM?

According to Amīr Khusrau, Kāfūr raided the temple of Barmatpuri. This has been identified by Prof. Aiyangar with Ghidambaram, firstly because Ghidambaram has a golden ceiling and secondly because it is known as Brahmapuri. Prof. Aiyangar, however, also says that it can be identified with Rameshvaram since Amīr Khusrau in *Deval Rānī* (speaking about this particular campaign) says that the army proceeded towards M'abar and "to the shores of the sea of Lanka, against the ruler whom he called Pandya Guru."¹ My reading of the text of *Deval Rānī* confirms the first assumption of Prof. Aiyangar; firstly because the place raided is called Marhatpuri by Khusrau and secondly because there was no king by the name of Pandya Guru. Moreover, Khusrau talks of the army having marched on the banks of many rivers **سب دریا** but never to have actually crossed the sea. The text of *Deval Rānī* (p. 72) reads:—

برادو و صف هند و یست سرباز - کہ ہم سرباز باشد ہم
سر انداز -

لب دریا سواحل بر سواحل - بجوش آمد نہ و شہر و مرا حل
در آن حد نیز راے ہوں والا - تباہ ہندواں لو لوٹے لالا
بر آب و خاک فرمان تماش - برہمن بیر ہندیا کردہ نامش
بسے شہرش بخشکی و تری ہم - پٹن خوش کردہ و سرہٹ پوری ہم
ہٹن را ساختہ منزل گہہ خویش - بت و بتخانہ در مرہٹ پوری پیش

Now, what is **مرہٹ پوری**? A footnote in the Aligarh text of *Deval Rānī* (p. 72) says that the Aligarh University

¹ Introduction to Habib's Trans. of *Khazāinul Futūḥ* p. xxxiii.

Ms. has **برمت پوری**. The Allahabad University Ms. also has **برمت پری** (fol. 77b). Thus Marhatpuri is nothing but Barmatpuri or Bramhastpuri, which was another name of Chidambaram. Thus, so far as Khusrau is concerned, he does not make mention of any raid on Rameshvaram. We know, however, that Kāfūr made dashing raids in search of Vīra Pandya. A glance at the map will show that from Srirangam, a place which Kāfūr raided, river Kaveri and one or two tributaries flow towards Chidambaram where they fall into the sea. Naturally when Kāfūr marched from Srirangam he marched on river banks **لب دیا** to reach Chidambaram which lies very near the sea if not on the sea coast itself. On the sea coast also lie Patans like Kaveripattanam and Negapatan referred to by Khusrau. Thus so far as Khusrau's version in *Khazain* and *Deval Rani* is concerned there is not the slightest mention of a raid on Rameshvaram.

Ferishtah, writing in the 17th century, however, makes a very significant statement. He says that a "Masjid-i-'Alāi" existed in Rameshvaram when he was writing his book.²

تا این خامه عنبرین شامه در تکویر این و قانع ست آن
مسجد درنواحی سیت بند را میسر موجودست و مسجد علائی
مشهورست -

Ferishtah's statement clearly shows that the mosque built by Kāfūr after the destruction of the temple was situated at some place near (**درواحی**) Rameshvaram. Khusrau and Baranī do not mention construction of any mosque at Rameshvaram in the time of 'Alā'uddīn. Khusrau's description of the sack of the temple at Marhatpuri shows that the temple was dismantled and dug up from its very foundation. Now, the well-known temple of Rameshvaram still

² Ferishtah pp. 119-20.

exists in all its architectural splendour, the beauty and dimensions of which are given in the *Imperial Gazetteer*.³

Not only Ferishtāh but Hājiuddabīr also has to say something interesting about this raid. He says that from Dwarsamudra Kāfūr marched to Sarandip (Ceylon) and broke the Ling-i-Mahādeva there.⁴ These versions simply show that Kāfūr's raid to a Shivite temple in south India was considered a venture unique in its kind; and later historians, ignorant of the topography of the Deccan but anxious to say something about this military feat, fell into the temptation of identifying it with Rameshvaram and even with Ceylon. To sum up, the temple raided was Chidambaram and not Rameshvaram because :—

1. No contemporary writer mentions the name of Rameshvaram. Khusrau talks of Marhatpuri which, as shown above, is another name for Chidambaram.

2. Rameshvaram lies far from Maḍura which seems a limit of Kāfūr's penetration into the south and all the places mentioned by Khusrau to having been visited by Kāfūr lie near about it.

3. Rameshvaram is an i-land. Amīr Khusrau, who gives the minutest details about this campaign, does not talk of crossing the sea on boats etc.

4. Even Ferishtāh who talks about 'Alāuddīn's Masjid. locates it somewhere near Rameshvaram درواحي سیت بندر but certainly not in the city itself. Again, the mosque to which Ferishtāh refers may not have been actually built by 'Alāuddīn and may have been only named after him, or some other 'Alāuddīn.

³ Index Volume pp. 818-19.

⁴ *Zafarul Vālī* p. 156.

Moreover, some modern writers⁵ have expressed doubt about Kāfūr's penetration even as far as Madura, not to speak of Rameshvaram. They base their arguments on the evidence of *Koyiloluhu*, according to which Muhammadans penetrated as far south as Madura not before 1324. On the basis of above arguments I venture to suggest that Malik Kāfūr did not raid the renowned temple of Rameshvaram.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* 1911 pp. 131-44.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* 1914 pp. 1-17.

APPENDIX C

BUILDINGS OF 'ALA'UDDIN KHALJI

The advent of Islām introduced a new stratum into the Indian culture. After the military clash was over, exigencies political and social ushered in an atmosphere of friendliness. Gradually a new synthesis developed, which gave birth to Indo-Islāmic culture. In every sphere of social and intellectual life, in manners and customs, in art and literature, the conquerors and the conquered inevitably impressed themselves on each other. And by the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century, India began to witness a change in its cultural outlook.

Against their bloody wars and their ruthless destruction of Hindu and Jain temples, is the constructive will of the Turkish invaders, which manifested itself pre-eminently in the huge edifices they erected. In the beginning they obtained their material from Hindu temples, reducing them to mere debris; but later, when Muslim hegemony was firmly established, they planned and constructed independently. In India itself, architecture had greatly developed, and Alberūnī, who had seen the architectural splendour of Bāghdad, was greatly amazed at the excellence of Indian craftsmanship. About the temples and buildings of India he says that his people "are unable to describe them, much less to construct anything like them." Obviously there was no dearth of skilled architects and masons in this country. The early Muslim Sultans employed them freely, and the buildings constructed by them to suit the taste of their Muslim patrons bear an impress of both Hindu and Muslim styles of architecture—"sometimes uncouthly mingled, at others beautifully

blended.”¹ Scholars like Havell think that Indo-Islamic architecture is nothing but a modified form of Hindu architecture. Fergusson and G. A. Page, on the other hand, are inclined to discover in it a larger share of Islamic influence.

The history of Hindu-Muslim architecture begins with the accession of Qutbuddin Aibak. Qutbuddin had to establish Muslim power in India, and to raise buildings “as quickly as possible, so that no time might be lost in making an impression on their newly-conquered subjects.”² The Quvvatul Islam mosque was built from the material obtained from the destruction of twenty-seven temples, some of the carved columns and shafts being utilized unaltered. Again, the builders were mostly Hindu craftsmen. Consequently, the generous use of columns, pillars, and shafts carved in Hindu design lend to the mosque a beauty and a grandeur peculiar to the Hindu style.

In the extensions of the Quvvatul Islam Mosque by Iltutmish, according to Marshall, there is much more Saracenic influence traceable. Shafts, capitals and architraves of Hindu pattern are still used; but in the screen very little Indian influence is visible.³ The culmination of the building art of the reign of Iltutmish, however, is reached in his mausoleum, built some time before 1235. The building is a square structure, with sides of 42 ft., and is situated in the north-west of

¹ An inscription on a yellowish stone on the Qutb Minār (8th course, 3rd balcony) reads that on Thursday, the 15th day of the dark fortnight of Phalguna in Sam. 1425 (A.D. 1369), lightning fell. The monument was then repaired. The architects were Naha, Lola, and Lashmana. (‘A Historical Memoir of the Qutb’, G.A. page., *Arch. Sur. Memoirs.*, No. 22, page 42).

These architects were obviously Hindus. The fact that an orthodox sovereign like Firōz Tughlaq employed Hindu architects clearly shows that they were indispensable.

² ‘Archaeology at the Qutb’, Gordon Sanderson., *Arch. Sur. India, Rep.* 1912-13., pp. 120, 131.

³ *Cam. Hist. of India*, vol. III, p. 577.

his extensions of the Masjid. The interior hall, with 30 ft. sides, is elaborately sculptured so as to rival some of the Hindu temples in richness of decoration, and is entered through doorways containing pointed arches, a feature particular to Hindu design. Of great interest in this building is the principle employed in the construction of its roof, which was probably some form of shallow dome.⁴ The form of the dome employed in Iltutmish's Mosque was of an improved form known as squinch.

After the death of Iltutmish, little work in architecture was done, or at least has survived. About 1280 Balban built a palace on the south-east of the Qilā of Rai Pithaurā, of which only a few traces are now left. He seems to have been too busy fighting his internal and external foes to erect memorable buildings; but even the remains of the palace mark a notable step in the development of the style. In this building we come across, for the first time, the true arch, produced by means of radiating voussairs and not by corbels.⁵ With the accession of 'Alāuddīn, construction was resumed with feverish activity. It is not only as a conqueror or an administrator, but also as a great builder, that 'Alāuddīn stands prominent in the history of medieval India. His buildings indicate a marked improvement upon those of his predecessors, the so-called "Slave Kings" and are more magnificent than those of his successors, the Tughlaqs,—who struck upon an orthodox and austere style. Alāuddīn built from the time of his accession to the day of his death. He extended the Quvvatul Islām Mosque, built a magnificent Gate to its entrance, constructed cisterns, palaces, and mosques, and founded a new city.

⁴ Percy Brown: *Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period), p. 12. Fergusson doubts that there was a roof to this tomb, but Cunningham, Carr Stephen, and Percy Brown have good reasons to believe that there was one. (Carr Stephen: *Archæology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, pp. 74-75).

⁵ Percy Brown: *Indian Architecture*, p. 12.

The first monument constructed by 'Alāuddīn in the year of his accession (1296) was Hauz-i-Khāṣ or Hauz-i-'Alā. This magnificent tank covered an area of over 70 acres of land, and was surrounded by a stone and masonry wall. It was filled with mud by Fīroz Tughlaq's time who cleaned it about 1354, and built a college near it. Tīmūr makes mention of this tank in his *Memoirs*, and says that it supplied water to the City throughout the year.⁶

In 711 A.H. (1311 A.D.) 'Alāuddīn repaired Hauz-i-Shamasī, a tank excavated by Shamsuddīn Iltutmish in 1229. The tank, which covered a hundred acres of land, used to dry up occasionally till it was cleared by 'Alāuddīn who also built a dome in its centre.⁷

It was customary with the Sultans of Delhi to build new cities and palaces of their own. Mu'izzuddin Kaiqubād founded the city of Kilughari; Jalāluddīn constructed Kau-shak-i-Lāl, and named it Shahr-i-Nau; 'Alāuddīn similarly founded Sirī; and his successor, Tughlaq Shāh, founded Tughlaqabad (1321)

Sirī was built in 1303 on a village of the same name. It was situated about three miles to the north-east of the Qutb Minār, and, according to Marshall, it was built in order to protect the over-growing population of the suburbs.⁸ The walls surrounding the City were constructed of rubble in mud but there are traces of ashlar masonry in lime and of lime plaster.⁹ The fort was not yet finished when the Mongols invaded India. They were completely defeated, and the heads of some 8,000 of them were used as bricks in the

⁶ Sir Saiyyad Ahmad Khan: *Asar-us Sanadid* (Urdu) Bk. III p. 27. Carr Stephen, p. 83.

⁷ *Khazain*. Habib Trs: pp. 19-20.

Carr Stephen, 68-69.

⁸ *Camb. Hist. of India*, vol. III, p. 585.

⁹ *Arch. Sur. Ind.* 1936-37, p. 41.

construction of its walls. Timūr has described Sirī in detail, and says that it had seven gates. In 1548 A.D. Sher Shah destroyed this City of 'Alāuddīn; and nothing is left of Sirī except some portions of the encircling walls which are decaying. While going to the Quṭb some dilapidated remains of Sirī are seen on the left hand side of the road. There has been some controversy about the actual site of the city. General Cunningham identifies it with the present village of Shapur, and Carr Stephen agreeing with him observes: "If the village of Shahpur does not mark the site of ancient Sirī, we must give up all attempts to identify its locality."¹⁰

In 1303 'Alāuddīn encamped outside Delhi to give battle to the Mongol invader Targhī. After his success the Sultan built, on the site of his camp, an imperial palace known as the Qasr-i-Hazār Sitūn. This name was given to it because of the large number of pillars utilized in its construction. It is said that while the palace was under construction, a large number of Mongol prisoners of war who had come in the train of Gang, were sent to Delhi by imperial officers. They were trampled to death under the feet of elephants and a tower of their skulls was raised in front of this palace. The Qasr must have been as magnificent and beautiful as the other buildings of 'Alāuddīn; but unfortunately its complete destruction renders it difficult even to locate its site with any amount of certainty.¹¹

Lāl Mahal, which stands about 50 yards to the north of the *Chausāth Khambha*, was built, according to Sir Saiyad, by Balban, and according to Mr. Campbell, by 'Alāuddīn. Carr Stephen, agreeing with the latter, says that

¹⁰ Carr Stephen pp. 84-85.

¹¹ Sirī, A city founded by 'Alāuddīn Khaljī by Maulvi K. B. Zafar Husain, *Arch. Sur. Ind. Report*, 1338-36 pp. 142-43.



'Alāi Darvāzā
Showing the pannelled treatment
in marble and red sandstone

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"the style of ornamentation, of the battlements, and of the moulding resembles so strongly that in 'Alāi' Darvāzā" that the two buildings appear to have been designed and built at the same time; "and we have thus ample warrant for describing Lāl Mahal as the work of 'Alā'uddīn.'" ¹² The neglected building has suffered at the hands of plundering villagers who have removed the red stone and rendered it ugly in appearance.

'Alāi Darvāzā is perhaps the most magnificent building of 'Alā'uddīn. It was the southern gate-way leading to the Quvvatul Islam Mosque, and was completed in 1311. ¹³

The building of the gate consists of a square hall, 34'6" inside, 56'6" outside. The walls are 11' thick and from the inner floor to the domed ceiling, about 47' high. On each side of the gateway there is a lofty door. The three outer facades are very much alike and are constructed in accordance with Islāmic architectural ideals; but the inner one has a much more indigenous character, since its arch is semi-circular and not of the pointed type. The outer doorways contain pointed arches of the horse-shoe type. On the southern side there is a plinth nearly 10' high, with a flight of seven steps which lead to the higher floor of the interior. The vertical sides of the plinth are beautifully carved in varied bands, while the surface of the wall above is profusely decorated with arabesques and inscriptions, with marble sparingly interspersed with the red sandstone of the building. On each side of the doorway there are two windows, about a third of its size, and containing perforated lattice work. Both the doors and the windows, as well as the outer walls, are elaborately ornamented.

¹² Carr Stephen, p. 215.

¹³ An inscription on the edifice gives the date of its construction as the 15th of *Shavvāl*, 710 A.H. (March 7, 1311 A.D.)

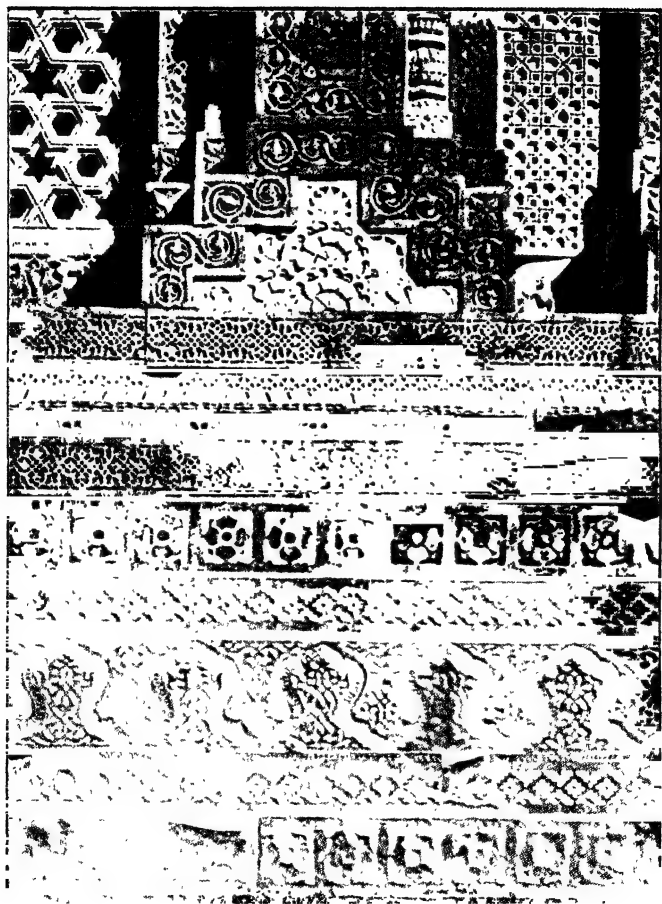
The interior is equally beautiful. The mode in which the circular dome has been supported by an octagon, which in its turn has been supported by a square, and so the load of the dome is gradually but completely conveyed to the ground, is both elegant and appropriate. The squinch arch, as well as the method of radiating voussoirs in the construction of the arches is a feature in all parts of the building. The key-note of the whole monument is its perfect symmetry.

'Alāi Darvāzā is not only beautiful, it is unique. It is not only the exquisitely flowing verses of the Qurān or the lace-like carvings, so common in other Indo-Muslim buildings, that make it "one of the most treasured gems of Islamic architecture"; but the horse-shoe or "keel" type of arch, which is not found in any of the buildings after those of the Khaljis,¹⁴ the projecting bosses which once filled the sockets now existing in the spandrels, and the radiating voussoirs of the arches, render it peerless. "Nothing so complete," says Fergusson, "had been done before, nothing so ornate was done by them afterwards." The edifice undoubtedly marks the culminating point in the development of Saracenic ornament under the Khaljis.

Percy Brown discerns the assistance of some experts in the building art of Anatolia (the capital of the Seljūqs of Rūm) in the erection of this edifice. The method of stone masonry and the unusual and determinative character of the building are animated by the same spirit as that of the Seljukide architecture.¹⁵ He says that the Mongol invasions put an end to the Seljūq Empire, causing its people to seek refuge in other countries. Some of them found shelter at the court of Delhi. With these refugees crept into India the Seljukian style of architecture, some salient features of

¹⁴ Percy Brown, p. 15.

¹⁵ Ibid pp. 13-15.



‘Alāi Darvāzā
 Showing combination of Saracenic
 and Hindu elements in decoration

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which are visible in the 'Alāi Gate. No contemporary chronicles mention immigrations on a considerable scale from any foreign country, but writers like Amir Khusrau refer to scholars who came from Turkistān and other countries. It is probable that some Seljukian architects helped in the construction of the 'Alāi Darvāzā, but, as Percy Brown himself admits, the edifice embodies many "purely indigenous features" despite its exotic nature. Throughout its fabric, "there runs the Indian manner", and it is the blending of the two systems, foreign and Indian, that makes this building an excellent piece of art.

'Alāi' Darvāzā is in a state of preservation far from satisfactory. Although it has not fallen into ruins like the walls of Sirī, or the Kaushak-i-Hazār Sitūn, many stones bearing inscriptions have fallen off, and some others have been spoiled by nitre. In spite of these ravages of time, the beauty of the building remains and "its excellent proportions and simple composition.....must be seen at dusk, silhouetted against an evening after-glow, to be rightly appreciated."¹⁶

After the construction of 'Alāi' Darvāzā, says Amīr Khusrau, 'Alāūddīn commenced further extensions of the Quvvat-ul-Islām Mosque, built by Qutbuddīn Aibak. Iltutmish had extended the western wall of the mosque by about 115 feet on either side, thus making the whole length of the wall 380 feet. Of the building extensions of 'Alāūddīn, passing from the Alāi Gate, the pillars which formed the colonnade in front of its inner door have disappeared for about 30 feet. At the eastern end of this gap, the colonnade again begins, and extends for about 120 feet. The walls of the colonnade are pierced by four doors and three lofty windows. The latter are covered with red sand-stone screens of lattice work. 'Alāūddīn's additions to the mosque extended beyond

¹⁶ 'A Historical Memoir of the Qutb' by J. A. Page, *Arch. Sur. Mem.*, No. 22, p. 14.

the northern extensions of Iltutmish, and included his unfinished Minār. The extension was 700 ft. long and 400 ft. wide, and had nine gates. Thus 'Alāuddīn nearly doubled the size of the mosque after Iltutmish's extensions. In 1311 the building was under construction, but it remained unfinished.¹⁷

The architectural arrangements of the extensions clearly indicate that the prayer chambers of Iltutmish furnish models for those of 'Alāuddīn; still there are some features which mark the development of the style reached under the Khaljis. The windows in Iltutmish's extensions are covered with lintels resting on corbels, while those in the latter have regular arches with voussoirs running through the whole thickness of the wall. This difference also clearly shows that, while Qutbuddin and Iltutmish had to rely for details of construction on Hindu craftsmen, 'Alāuddīn was independent of them; and it was in his reign that the school of Muhammadan architecture acquired a more national type.¹⁸

The king thought of completely dwarfing the architectural achievements of his predecessors by building a Minār of double the size of the Qutb. It was commenced in 1311 at a distance of 470 feet to the north-west of the Qutb Minār. Its circumference is 254 ft. and the diameter of the central column 26'. It was carried to the height of 75' above the plinth of about 4½'; but then the construction was abandoned, probably on account of the Sultan's death. The Minār is divided into 32 faces of 8' each, and the curious feature of angular flutings is very marked, as also the treatment of the shallow curved recesses, so that the whole column has aptly been described by General Cunningham as "being exactly like a gigantic cog-wheel." The relative heights of the

¹⁷ *Asar-us Sanādīd*, Bk. III, p. 21.

¹⁸ Cf. Carr Stephen, pp. 52-54. *Memoir. Arch. Sur.* No. 22, pp. 16-17.



Alāuddīn's Madrasā
View of the buildings on the west
side of the quadrangle.

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encircling windows which pierce the walls at every quadrant indicate that the means of ascent inside the Minār was to be a very gradual ramp, and not a stair as that in the Qutb.¹⁹ The outer stones of the Minār have disappeared, and only a stump of bricks and mortar now stands there as a monument of 'Alāuddīn unfulfilled ambition.

The date of the construction of the building known as the Madrasā of 'Alāuddīn is not definitely known. It is even said to have been built by Iltutmish, but the high drummed domes and the advanced corbelled pendentives, show that it was constructed by 'Alāuddīn.²⁰ The College lies immediately to the south-west of the Quvvat-ul-Islām Mosque, and is built around a quadrangular court-yard.

On the southern side of this court is located a large structure, 400 ft. long and 200 ft. wide covered originally by a dome, now fallen. It is said to be the tomb of 'Alāuddīn. It is entered from all sides and the western entrance is a Pathān-gateway of stone and masonry, with an arch 14 ft. high and 11 ft. wide.²¹ The tomb itself is about 50 ft. long and 32 ft. wide. On either side of it there is a passage which divides it from the side rooms which are domeless. The noteworthy feature of this building is the use of corbelled pendentives. It is the earliest instance of corbelled treatment of a pendentive in India, and is a happy solution of the constructional problem. The whole building is now in a dilapidated state.

'Alāuddīn died in 1316, but his tomb seems to have been constructed after a year or two by his son Qutbuddīn Mubārak Shāh. Fīroz Tughlaq repaired it, and put up a sandal

¹⁹ J. A. Page, p. 16.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 17.

²¹ Carr Stephen, pp. 88-89.

wood screen, no longer extant. Even the grave has altogether fallen, and only a mound of lime and mortar remains.²²

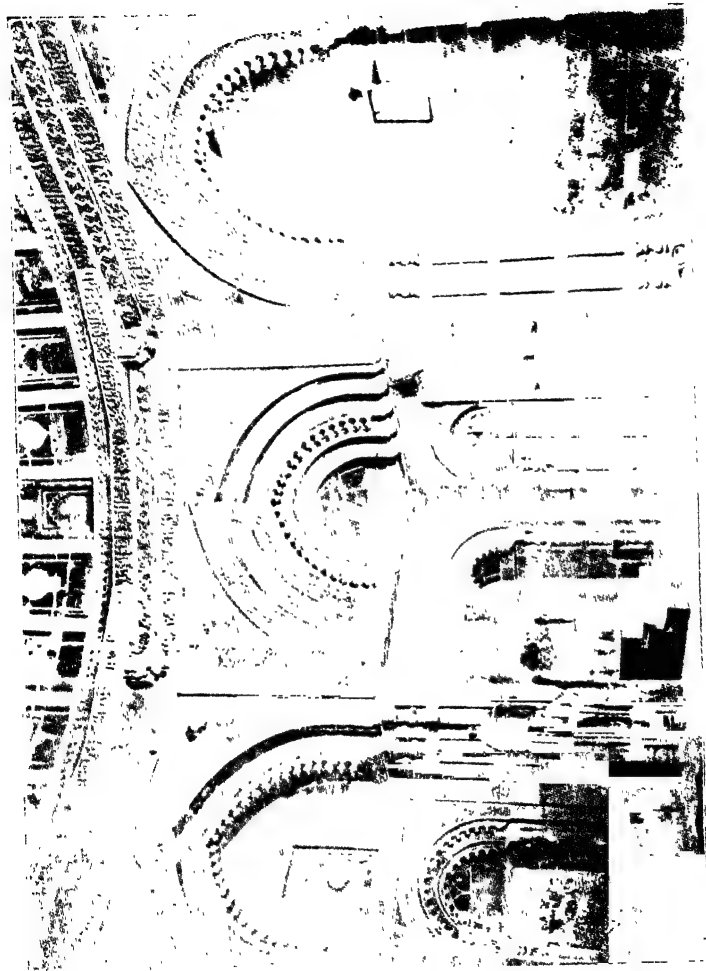
Another important building of the period is the Jama'at Khānā Mosque at the Dargāh of Nizāmuddīn Aulia. It lies in the village of Nizāmuddīn, situated within five miles of New Delhi. The building is entered through a low gate-way which leads into a stone-paved enclosure, about 60 feet square. On the west side of this is a room now used as a school and on the right is the tomb of Amīr Khusrau. To the north of this court is another enclosure which contains the tomb of the renowned saint. The mausoleum is about 48½ yards long, and 19½ yards broad; and within its walls are the graves of Jahānārā Begum, Muhammad Shāh, and Mirzā Jahāngīr, and the Jama'at Khana Masjid. The tomb of Nizāmuddīn is about 30 ft. square, with five arched openings, supported by 20 marble pillars. It is surrounded by a white marble dome, ornamented with vertical stripes of black marble.

The Mosque is about 94 feet long, 64 feet wide, and 48½ feet high and it is built of red sandstone throughout. The body of the mosque consists of three rooms, the centre one 54 feet by 46 feet, and the two side ones 54 feet by 20 feet. The centre room is covered by a dome, 54 feet in diameter; and the side rooms by two domes each. The domes are built of red sandstone and masonry. The centre room is entered through an arched gate-way about 15 feet high, and the bands round the arches are ornamented with inscriptions from the Qurān. The walls contain red sandstone lattice work.²³

The conflicting statements of various historians render it difficult to determine the builder of this edifice. According to Ferishtah it was constructed by Khizr Khān, the eldest son of

²² Also see *Asar-us Sanādīd*, Bk. II, pp. 27-28.

²³ For exhaustive details about the dimensions of these buildings see Carr Stephen, pp. 104-105, 111-113.



Jama'at Khānā Masjid
The interior view showing pendentives

To face page 382

'Alāuddīn and a disciple of the Shaikh. Sir Saiyyad Ahmad thinks that it was only the central apartment that was built by the prince, and the two other sides were added by Muḥammad Shāh Tughlaq. Fīroz Tughlaq claims in the *Fatūḥāt-i-Fīrōz Shāhi* that he constructed the building, while the author of the *Samaratul Quds* writes that the saint himself built the mosque.²⁴

Whoever may have built the mosque, it is a fine specimen of the "severe" style of Pathan architecture, and is the earliest example of a mosque constructed wholly in accordance with Islāmic ideas, and with materials specially quarried for this purpose. Like 'Alā' Darvāzā it is built of red sand-stone, and is constructed on the same principles. In one respect it marks an advance on the Darvāzā as an intervening storey or triforium has been imposed between the walls of the hall and the base of the dome. In another respect it shows more traces of indigenous handling. In the arch the horse-shoe character is less prominent, while the ogee of the crown, a sign of indigenous influence, is more pronounced. Lace-like bands of Qurānic inscriptions are engraved here and there throughout the building. The inscriptions are excellently done, and are described by Mr. Beglar as "the most beautiful in Delhi."

Of the buildings of 'Alāuddīn outside the capital, mention may be made of his mosque at Muttra,²⁵ and the tomb of Shaikh Farīd (built Cir. 1300) which was probably a converted Hindu or Jain temple. There is another *masjid* built about the same time at Broach. It is also a converted Jain temple. In 1300 Alp Khān Sanjarī, brother-in-law of 'Alāuddīn, built the Adīnah Mosque at Patan. The size of the enclosure of this mosque is 400 feet by 330 feet and it contains 1050 pillars.²⁶

²⁴ 'A Guide to Nizamuddin' by Zafar Husain, *Mem. Arch. Sur.*, No. 10, p. 14.

²⁵ *Epigr. Indo-Moselmica*, 1938, pp. 59-61.

²⁶ Percy Brown, p. 52.

'Alī Muhammad Khān has described the beauty of this mosque in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandārī*. It was built of white marble, and it was related "that it was once an idol temple converted to a mosque. But it is.....a wonderful and noble building." The Adīnah mosque no longer exists.

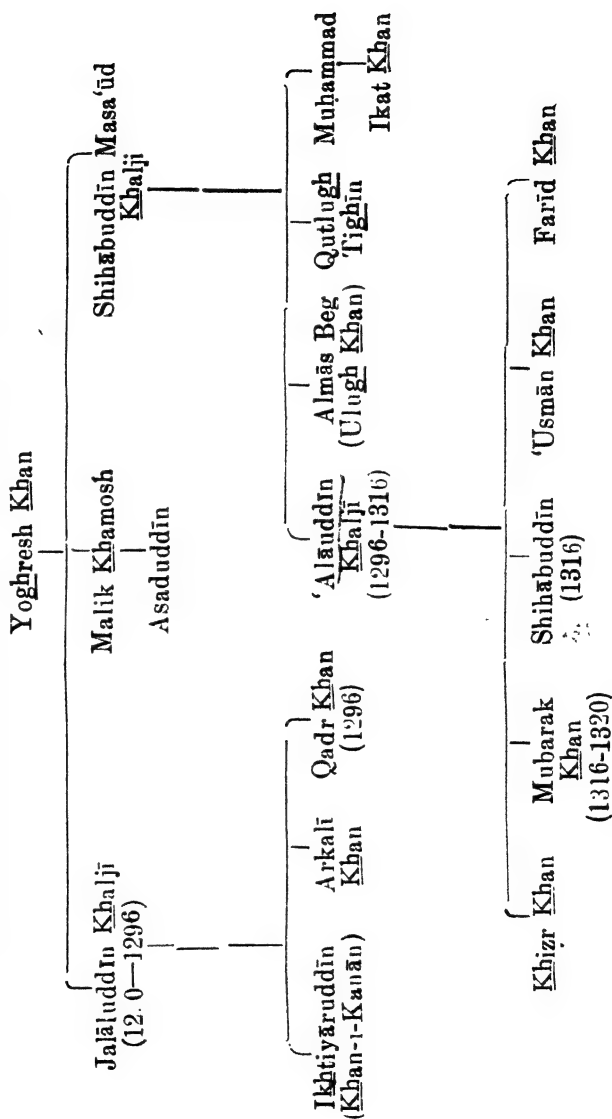
After conquest of Chittor in 1303, 'Alāuddīn constructed a bridge over River Gamberi. Its chief architectural features, the gateways and towers, have disappeared, but the massive arches of grey limestone still indicate the hand of the competent engineers who constructed it.²⁷ Another example of the architecture of the period may be seen in the Ukha Mosque at Bayānā (now in the Bharatpur state). It was built by Quṭbuddīn Mubārak Shāh, and appears to be a provincialised version of the Delhi style.

How could 'Alāuddīn build so extensively, and beautify what he built? The answer is not far to seek. Architectural enterprises require large sums of money, and the Southern expeditions of the Sultan, as well as his revenue regulations, brought him immense wealth. Moreover, 'Alāuddīn put an end to the Mughal menace which had threatened the very existence of the Sultanate. His best architectural works were accomplished after 1311, by which time the Mongols had been completely hurled back behind the North-West frontier and immense wealth had been brought from the Deccan. Some of the master craftsmen were foreigners who flocked to his capital from outside, and gave an exotic touch to his buildings, but, as their execution was largely in the hands of the indigenous supervisors and architects, they left an unmistakable impress of the land of their origin.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 16.

APPENDIX D

GENEOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE KHALJI DYNASTY



APPENDIX E

AUTHORITIES

The history of the Khaljī sultans suffers from want of contemporary historians. It is said that Kabīruddīn, son of Tājuddīn Irāqī, was the court historian of 'Alāuddīn and wrote a history of the latter's reign in several volumes. His work, the *Fatehnāmah*, is not traceable now, and consequently a very useful account of 'Alāuddīn's reign has been lost. The works of Baranī and Amīr Khusrau, as well as those of other contemporary and later historians, however, lend sufficient information about the Khaljīs. In the following pages a study of the historical value of the various works, mostly in Persian, available to us on the subject would be made. The bibliography gives a list of most of the works utilized in the preparation of this book.

Contemporary Sources.

Ziyāuddīn Baranī :—Of the contemporary historical works of our period the greatest value is attached to Maulānā Ziyāuddīn Baranī's *Tarikh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*. It was completed in 1359, about forty years after the death of Mubarak Khaljī. Born in 1285 Baranī was about five years when Jalāluddīn ascended the throne and thirty-five when Mubarak Khaljī died. Thus he was an eye witness to the events of the reigns of all the Khaljī sultans, especially of 'Alāuddīn and Mubarak in whose time he had quite passed the age of adolescence. Baranī received his education at Delhi where great scholars and teachers flocked from all parts of Asia, and his *Tarikh* bears the imprint of his great scholarship. In a lengthy introduction to his book Ziyāuddīn dilates upon the uses of history, its method of writing, its place in man's education. He considers the study of history in no way less important than the study of Ḥadīṣ,

Fiqah and hagiological literature.¹ Like Bacon he thought history made men wise and they learnt from the experience of the past. A historian, says he, should be truthful, honest and fearless. If for one reason or another he was unable to write the facts openly, he should try to convey his ideas through implications and suggestions.² On more than one occasion he asserts that whatever he wrote was all true,³ but that is exaggerated self-estimation. Ziyāuddīn died at a ripe age after experiencing both the "bitter and sweet" of life. Born and brought up in rich surroundings and patronized by sultan Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, Baranī's last days were miserable; he died poverty-stricken and destitute.

Ziyāuddīn catches the thread of narrative dropped by Minhāj Sirāj. The *Tarikh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* begins with the history of the reign of Balban and ends with the first six years of Fīroz Tughlaq's reign. Comparatively studied, the reign of the Khaljis is more systematically treated than that of the Tughlaqs. In the narrative of the Khaljis chronological sequence of the events is maintained fairly accurately although the chronology is far from satisfactory.

His father M'uyīdūlmulk's and his uncle 'Alāūlmulk's official positions under the Khaljis, as also his associations with Amīr Khusrau, 'Alā Ḥasan Sajzi and other state officials, had given Baranī ample opportunities to collect and ascertain historical facts. He very often refers to his sources of information, naming Khvājā Zaki, nephew of Ḥasan Baṣrī and a Vazīr of Balban, Malik Qīra Beg, Amīr Khusrau and Amīr Ḥasan.⁴ He also studied the Dīvāns of Khusrau whom he quotes at various places.⁵ But surely he wrote his history

¹ Baranī p. 9.

² Baranī pp. 13-16.

³ Eg. p. 237.

⁴ Baranī pp. 67, 114, 299.

⁵ Ibid. pp. 118, 370.

from time to time and not all at once, and he did not fully utilize the contemporary works in the preparation of his *Tarikh*. Had he improved upon the drafts of his book after consulting *Khusrau's Miftāhul Futūḥ*, *Khazāinul Futūḥ* and *Deval Ranī*, and Kabiruddin's *Fatehnāmā*, he would surely have given more information about 'Alāuddīn's wars in Chittor, Ranthambhor, Malwa and the Deccan. He does not refer to the Deval Ranī episode at all and his account of the Deccan campaigns of Malik Kāfur is extremely poor. Moreover, once he starts writing about the Deccan, he neglects the north altogether. For example, he furnishes little information about events in northern India from 1308 to 1313 particularly about the wars in Jalor and Sevena. It must, however, be observed that Ziyā finished his work at the advanced age of seventy-four when he was in a miserable plight. His pecuniary embarrassments had made him bitter and disappointed. And so he was more prone to pour forth the agonies of his soul, than to sit and improve upon his notes after comparing them with the works of Amīr *Khusrau* and other contemporary writers. Hence the *Tarikh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* at times betrays symptoms of a number of jottings carelessly pieced together.

Except in the preface, which is written in a highly florid language, the historian adheres to a simple, clear and lucid style. His narrative, far from exhibiting the highly ornamental style then in fashion, seems to be a painful translation from the spoken Hindustani into Persian. Ziyāuddin uses Hindi words like *badla*, *bhatti*, *chākar*, *charaī*, *chautra*, *chouki*, *chappar*, *dholak*, *mandī*, *morha*, *mathāha* (earthen jugs), *pondā* (sugar cane), *palak* (eye lids) etc., frequently in the course of his narrative. At places his language is so broken as to make out little sense. Moreover, he is prone to making contradictory statements. Being a chronicler of contemporary events he saw the various aspects of a certain thing and mentions them all unsynthetically. At some some places

he extols 'Alāuddīn, at others dubs him a Pharaoh, and on a study of his *Tarīkh* it is difficult to say whether 'Alāuddīn was a benefactor or a tyrant. Anyway, the historian possessed a facile pen and writes in a clear and unostentatious way.

Baranī has his own peculiar way of describing events and he takes pains to make them credible. This is shown in 'Alāuddīn's conversation with Qāzī Mughīśuddīn of Bayana, and Qutbuddīn's attachment to his favourite Vazīr Khusrau Khan. On the occasion of Qāzī Mughīś's talk with 'Alāuddīn there was no third person present, but the historian writes every word that passed between the Qāzī and the sultan. In such cases Baranī finds a welcome opportunity to put his own ideas in the mouth of others. At another place he so graphically describes the eventful night of Qutbuddīn's murder; that it gives the impression that he was peeping through a crevice into the apartment where Qutbuddīn and his favourite Vazīr Khusrau Khan were sleeping together.⁶ These vivid descriptions do grip popular imagination but cannot satisfy a craving for historical veracity.

Ziyāuddīn's sarcasm is incisive. Occasionally his sardonic humour helps him to sum up his ideas in a few words. His remark that in 'Alāuddīn's days "a camel could be had for a *dang*, but whereform a *dang*",⁷ shows at once how the reforms of 'Alāuddīn had made articles cheap and people poor. Again, the stern attitude of 'Alāuddīn towards the revenue officials, according to our historian, made them so unpopular that service in the revenue department was considered worse than "plague", that nobody "gave his daughter in marriage to a revenue clerk" and that "the office of superintendent was accepted by one who had no regard for life."⁸ The sad plight of the agriculturists had reached such dimensions that the

⁶ Baranī pp. 405-6.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 312.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 289.

peasants "sold their wives and children" to remit the land revenue⁹ while the wives of rich *zamindārs* (*Khāits* and *Muqaddams*) worked in the houses of Musalmans and received wages. And the *bazar* people, to our historian, are the worst of all the "seventy-two" classes of people (that inhabit the globe).¹⁰

Like all human beings, Baranī has his likes and dislikes. He does not feel interested in the description of battles, tactics used in a particular engagement, and such other points of military strategy. Whenever he has to give such a description he invariably has recourse to brevity. He does, however, pause to praise an act, a character or a motive. When he praises somebody he extols him to heaven, when he condemns, he writes with his pen dipped in acid. Nonetheless his character sketches are excellently done. He is a philosopher-cum-historian and not an accurate historian always. His memory is prodigious.

Tarīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhi has greatly suffered at the hands of its transcribers. Certain passages of the book are altogether incomprehensible. It is possible that at some places Baranī could not dare write true facts with impunity just as in the passage about the death of *Ġhayāsuddīn Tughlaq*, but at other places where he could never be suspected of suppressing truth, as for example in the description of the salary of soldiers in the time of 'Alāuddīn,¹¹ or the increase of land revenue by Muḥammad Tughlaq, the fault probably lay with later copyists.

But a few shortcomings cannot mar the extra-ordinary value of Baranī's *Tarīkh*. He does not only write about courts or campaigns as most of the medieval chroniclers do, but also gives social and economic reforms of rulers, their

⁹ Baranī p. 340.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 343.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 303.

administrative measures and their system of meeting out justice. He gives a long list of contemporary saints, philosophers, historians, poets, medical men and astronomers. His references to clothes, fruits and sweets and other sundry articles of those days throw a flood of light on the socio-economic conditions of the 14th century. Baranī's descriptions of the Market Control of 'Alāuddīn and the sultan's revenue regulations, clearly show that he is not a mere chronicler but a historian in the true sense of the word. Baranī knew the shortcomings of his contemporaries and says that Kabīrudīn and other historians confine their narrative to kings, courts and conquests. He begins his book with a long discourse on historiography and the uses of historical study.¹² He talks at length about the duties of a king.¹³ As a historian he tries to analyse critically the causes which brought about the end of Jalāluddīn, of 'Alāuddīn and of the Khaljī regime as a whole. Zīyāuddīn was cognizant of his contribution to historical literature and declares, without diffidence, that for the past thousand years a book like the *Tarīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhi* had not been produced.¹⁴

Baranī's work is undoubtedly very valuable. Later historians have greatly depended upon him for information as well as inspiration. Nizamuddīn Aḥmad, Badaonī, Ferishtah, Ḥājīuddabīr—almost all important historians of the 16th and 17th centuries have depended upon Baranī for their account of the history of the period covered by him. Nizāmuddīn especially quotes him very often; at some places he almost copies out Baranī and at others tries to solve the knotty problems left by him. Thus he tries to explain the origin of the Khaljis about which Baranī says nothing except that they were not "Turks." Ferishtah also tries to analyse the passage in

¹² Baranī pp. 10-12.

¹³ *Ibid.* pp. 41-44.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 123-24.

which Baranī describes the salaries of soldiers fixed by 'Alāuddīn. Ḥājīuddabīr throws fresh light on some vexed questions not properly explained by Baranī, such as the age of 'Alāuddīn and the causes underlying the constant quarrels between 'Alāuddīn and Jalāluddīn's family. Abdul Haqq Dehlvi, the author of *Akhhārul Akhyār*, almost entirely depends upon Baranī for the biographical sketches of Nizāmuddīn Aulia and other saints of the period.

Besides the *Tarikh*, Ziyāuddīn is accredited with the authorship of many other works like *Salvāt-i-Kabīr*, *Sanā-i-Muḥammadī*, *Hasratnāmah*, *Ināyatnāmah*, *Ma'asir-i-S'ādāt* and a history of the Barmakides. Another work of his known as the *Fatrā-i-Jahāndārī* seems to be nothing more than a supplement to the *Tarikh-i-Fīroz Shahī* and contains a sort of moral code the clerical historian would like a Muslim monarch to follow. The most important book of Baranī, however, remains his *Tarikh* which is an everlasting epitome of his erudition and scholarship.

Amīr Khusrāu.

Abul Ḥasan, popularly known by his pseudonym of Amīr *Khusrāu*, is another contemporary authority of our period. Born in 651 H. (1252 A.D.) he witnessed the reigns of Balban, Jalāluddīn, 'Alāuddīn, and Muḥammad bin Tughlaq. Most of his works were written in the time of 'Alāuddīn and the latter's son Mubarak *Khalji*. His great merit as a poet and philosopher cannot here be studied in detail for lack of space. *Qirānus S'ādain*, *Miftāḥul Futūḥ*, *Ashiqā*, *Nūḥ Sipehr* and *Tughlaqnāmah* are his historical *masnavīs*. *Qirānus S'ādain* deals with the memorable meeting between Bughra *Khan* and his son Kaiqubad. In the course of this work *Khusrāu* malignantly portrays the features of the Mongols in whose galling captivity he once fell. *Miftāḥul Futūḥ* which comprises a part of the *Divān Ghurattul Kamal* (C. 690 H.) enumerates the victories of Jalāluddīn *Khalji*. Some portions of this book

have been translated by Elliot in volume III of his history. *Ashiqā* or *Ishqīā* was completed by the poet in 715 H. and it deals with the love adventures and marriage of Khīẓr Khan and Deval Rani. Khusrau begins the *maṣnavī* with a short history of the military exploits of 'Alā'uddīn and his predecessors and gives a glimpse into the uncertain times which preceded and followed 'Alā'uddīn's death. The poem ends with the description of Khīẓr Khan's numerous hardships and his sad death. *Nūh Sipehr* or the "Nine Spheres" was completed in Jamādiul Avval 718 H. when the poet reached a ripe age of sixty seven. The *maṣnavī* deals with the victories of Mubarak Shah, but in the third sphere the author gives detailed references about Indian climate, fruits, languages, philosophy, witchcraft etc. Consequently he gives a very interesting as well as authentic sketch of the social conditions of those times. The last *maṣnavī*—the *Tughlāqnāmāh*—was written about the last years of Khusrau. It deals with Ghayāsuddīn Tughlāq's victory over Khusrau Shah, and a few other events about the early years of Tughlāq's reign. It also describes at length the sad plight of the various sons and descendants of 'Alā'uddīn who were mercilessly massacred by Khusrau Shah.

Khazāinul Futūḥ, or the "Treasure of Victories", comprises a detailed account of the victories of sultan 'Alā'uddīn in the Deccan. It is a prose work and is written in an inflated and verbose style. Since Khusrau wrote it for the reigning emperor, it forms almost an official account of the exploits of Malik Kāfūr in the south. It describes events from 'Alā'uddīn's accession in 695 upto the date of its composition (711 H). The historical importance of this work can hardly be exaggerated as technically it is the only contemporary history of 'Alā'uddīn's reign, for even Baranī wrote long after the death of the king. Besides the Deccan campaigns which are dealt exhaustively, Khusrau also describes in this work the buildings constructed by 'Alā'uddīn, his conquests

of Gujarat, Chittor, Malwa and Sevana as well as his administrative measures. From its numerous topographical details, it appears that the author was an eye-witness to at least some of the scenes described in the course of the Deccan campaigns. According to Badaonī he had accompanied Kāfūr to the South. The Allahabad University Library has a manuscript copy of the *Khazāinul Futūh*. The work has been translated by Professor Habīb who supplements it with learned notes.

Mention may also be made of Khusrau's *A'ijāz-i-Khusravī*, *Afzalul Favāid* and *Rāḥatul Muḥabbīn*, all being works of his later years. *A'ijāz-i-Khusravī* is a voluminous work on epistography and deals with various subjects of common interest; and the last two books are collections of the author's conversations with his *pīr* Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Aulia. All these books throw a flood of light on the social history of the period. The other *maṣnavīs* of Khusrau like the *Muṭṭai Anvār* also supply information on social and cultural conditions of those days.

Khusrau's works are of great historical authenticity. He was a government officer and courtier and, therefore, had access to government records and such persons from whom he could gather correct information about affairs of the state. 'Alā Ḥasan Sajzi and Ziyāuddīn Baranī were his intimate acquaintances and his association with them formed another authentic source of ascertaining facts of his own days. The one great merit in Khusrau's works is the abundance of dates which are on the whole reliable: and in matters of chronological details he is more to be trusted than Baranī. Khusrau's tastes as well as his activities covered various channels, and, therefore, he was not as good a historian as Baranī was, but generally he wrote truthfully and honestly. In *Miftahul Futūh* he writes that some times he was tempted to add falsehoods, but he always adhered to truth for "truth is an admir-

able thing".¹⁵ Indeed Khusrau's works shorn of their grandiloquence, verbosity and poetical exaggerations give a true picture of political and social history of the times in which he lived.

Sources almost Contemporary.

'Iṣāmī :—Of the sources nearly contemporary, the most valuable work is the *Futūḥus Salātīn*. It was the outcome of the broken heart of an unknown poet Khvājā 'Abdulla Malik 'Iṣāmī. 'Iṣāmī was born in about 1311 A.D.; his ancestor Fakhr Malik 'Iṣāmī had come to India from Baghdad in the time of Iltutmish. Since then his family had served under the various sultans of Delhi, so that 'Iṣāmī's grandfather A'izzuddīn was the Chief Huntsman (*Sar-i-Lashkar*) of Balban. In 1327 when the author was sixteen years of age he was compelled to go to Daulatabad where the capital of the empire had been shifted by Muḥammad bin Tughlaq. He lived there till he was forty but he could never reconcile himself to the change. He determined to leave Hindustan for Mecca, but "the last infirmity of the noble mind" impelled him to leave something permanent behind. He was unmarried and childless, and thought that the best thing he could leave was a poetical composition of historical interest. Consequently he wrote the *Futūḥus Salātīn*, or the Victories of the Kings (of India). It was begun on the 10th December 1349 and finished on the 14th May 1350 after an incessant labour of a little less than six months.

This book written seven or eight years before Baranī's *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* comprises an account of the events from the times of Maḥmūd of Ghazna to those of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq. Although the author wrote in a hurry, his work suffers neither from historical inaccuracies nor in poetical merit. His style is simple and lucid, and the epic is written

¹⁵ Wahid Mirza : *Life and Works of Amīr Khusrau* p. 177.

in a short and swift verse. 'Iṣāmī neither indulges in the rhetoric of Khusrau nor in the abstruseness of Badr Chach. According to the editor of the work 'Iṣāmī may be called the best epic writer of the age.¹⁶ The poet does not cite his authorities, but his narrative clearly shows that he surely used works of historical authenticity and wrote with admirable discretion. So far as the reign of 'Alāúddīn is concerned he seems to have consulted people who had been eye witnesses to his reign. At more than one place he says that he listened to the accounts of various old and experienced persons whose names he does not mention.¹⁷ Besides this he also consulted many authoritative documents. His account of 'Alāúddīn's Deccan expedition of 1296, gives the most detailed information about that event. Since his book was written at Devagiri itself where eye witnesses to the raid must be living at that time, 'Iṣāmī was in a better position to know about the details of that particular event than even Baranī and Khusrau. In the descriptions of the loves of Deval Rani and Khizr Khan 'Iṣāmī seems to have depended entirely on the '*Ashiqā* of Amīr Khusrau. 'Iṣāmī's account of their love-adventures is only an abridgement of Khusrau's description. *Futūḥ Salātin* is tolerably correct in chronology, and the poet has very carefully preserved the sequence of events. 'Iṣāmī supports and supplements Baranī at many places. With regard to Mughal invasions especially, he gives many new facts and his account of those invasions is perhaps the most detailed. As the title denotes, the subject matter of 'Iṣāmī's work does not deal with any other aspect of government except wars and

¹⁶ *Futūḥ*, English preface p. 4.

¹⁷ E.g. he says, p. 340,

شنیدم زافسانه گوئے کہن - کہ از زیر کی بُرد گویے سخن
 شنیدم ز پیران دیرینه سال -
 شنیدم زافسانه سنجان پاک -
 p. 341,
 p. 199,

victories. The administrative and economic reforms of 'Alā'uddīn, given in so prominent details by Baranī, have not been touched upon by 'Iṣāmī, who at places makes only a casual reference to them. But his vivid description of battles and sieges makes his book a source of great historical value. 'Iṣāmī describes at length 'Alā'uddīn's siege of Ranthambhor and throws fresh light on the emperor's various engagements with the Mughals.

'Iṣāmī, however, could not rise above the prejudices of his age. His book is at places full of exaggerations and is marred by personal malice. Since he had to suffer great hardships on account of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq's transfer of the capital, he denounces that king mercilessly. He compares Muḥammad bin Tughlaq with 'Alā'uddīn and while extolling and crediting 'Alā'uddīn with great qualities he severely disparages Muḥammad.

Although they were contemporaries, yet, perhaps 'Iṣāmī never met Baranī, and both were ignorant of each other. Baranī does not mention 'Iṣāmī anywhere in his narrative, but that is not surprising since Baranī seldom cites anybody's authority. Nizāmuddīn Ahmad and Ferishtah make mention of *Futūḥus Salātīn*; and as has been shown above, the book possesses great historical value, and cannot be dubbed as an unimportant book of historical romances as Briggs is prone to do.¹⁸

The itinerary of Ibn Battūṭah (1304—1378) also is of great historical importance for the history of our period. Abu 'Abdullah surnamed Muḥammad Ibn Battūṭah was a native of Tangiers, Egypt. Since early childhood he had a passion for voyage and from 1325 to 1349, for full twenty-five years, he travelled in north Africa, Arabia, Persia and India and is said to have gone as far east as China itself. Ibn Battūṭah arrived in India in 1333 A.D. and for his learning and foreign lineage he was appointed Qazī of Delhi by the reigning

¹⁸ Briggs: Ferishtah Vol. I p. 406.

monarch **Muḥammad bin Tughlaq**. **Ibn Battūtāh** was known as **Maulana Badruddīn** in India and received every consideration at the hands of the sultan, but after remaining in his office for about eight years he was removed from it as he had incurred the displeasure of the sovereign. He was imprisoned, but later on released and sent as an ambassador to China. On his way to that country he was shipwrecked, and fearing the wrath of the sultan, stayed in the Maldivé Islands. After a year he came back to southern India, and not long after he went to Chittagong from where he took boat for China. It is not known for certain if he ever reached there. The indefatigable traveller performed Ḥajj at Mecca and then returned to Morocco where he settled down permanently.

This widely travelled man possessed an observing eye and a keen intellect. His interest in men and things was so great that he jotted down everything that interested him during his travels. Unfortunately his original notes were lost on one of his journeys and the account of his travels which is available to us is only an abridgement of the dictation of his experiences to **Ibn Juzji** who edited them in form of a book. The work is known as *Tuhfatul Naẓẓār fi Gharrāibul Amṣār wa 'Ajāibul Asfār*.

Ibn Battūtāh arrived in India seventeen years after 'Alā-uddīn's death, when many people of the latter's reign would surely be living. His account of 'Alāuddīn, therefore, was probably based on information derived from eye witnesses of the period. **Battūtāh** gives a short history of the sultans of Delhi prior to **Muḥammad bin Tughlaq**; and his narrative when compared to those of contemporary writers leaves no doubt that he was truthful. His account is a valuable store-house of information on political and social institutions of those days. He gives a faithful account of sultan **Muḥammad's** court and of the manners, customs, habits and institutions of the people at large. **Battūtāh** is an independent writer and is more reliable than the historians who cared for the favour or

frown of the emperors. The traveller corroborates Baranī at some places and at others he supplements him. But his narrative has its shortcomings also. He was a foreigner. He did not know Persian well and he was altogether ignorant of Hindi. Not unoften he lent a credulous ear to rumour and gossip and frequently mixes up fiction with fact. He cares little about the chronological sequence of events and so also about topographical accuracy. In spite of these defects Ibn Battūtah's *Risala* forms an invaluable source of Indian history of the 14th century.

I have used the French Edition of Ibn Battūtah's voyages by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti. The portions dealing with India have also been translated by Khan Saheb Maulvi Muḥammad Husain, who supplements his translation with valuable footnotes.

Equal in importance to Ibn Battūtah is the Venatian traveller Marco Polo, who visited south India about the end of the thirteenth century. It is really unfortunate that Marco did not visit north India, and his account deals only with the Deccan. He speaks very highly of queen Rudramba of Warangal and gives interesting details about the kings of M'abar. His account of horse trade in south India tallies with that of Vaṣṣāf even to details. Marco Polo visited almost all the then existing ports of India and talks about the brisk maritime activity in the south. He describes in detail the manners and habits of the people of the Deccan and forms a very valuable source of social history. Col. Yule has edited the "Travels of Marco Polo" supplementing them with learned footnotes.

Masālikul Abṣār fi Mumālikul Amsār is another work like the two cited above. Its only shortcoming is that its author Shihābuddīn Aḥmad also known as Al Marāshī (1297—1348), a native of Damascus, did not himself visit India. His account of this country is based only on what he heard from trustworthy persons like Shaikh Mubarak and

Khojandi. But on the whole his information is quite trustworthy and is corroborated by other contemporary writers. The *Masālik* throws much light on the social and economic life of the country as well as on the machinery of government of Hindustan. It has been published in the Aligarh University Magazine. Translations of relevant portions of the book have also been given in Elliot Vol. III. There is also a rotograph copy of a Ms. of the work in the Allahabad University Library.

On the basis of the *Masālik* an Arab geographer Alqal Qāshindī has written an account of the social conditions of India in his work *Ṣubḥ-ul-A'sha*. Dr. Otto Spies has translated into English the portions of the book dealing with India. Alqal Qāshindī has nothing new to say and copiously copies from the *Masālik*, at times verbatim.

Besides these works which are very valuable for giving information on social and economic life of the country, there are books on political history written a few years before and after the *Khaljī* period. Minhāj Sirāj's *Tabqāt-i-Nasiri* deals with the period between the Muslim conquest of India and the reign of Balban. The most important portions of this book for our period are those dealing with the *Mughals*. Major Raverty, who has translated the work, has given very copious and learned footnotes. The book forms an authentic and indispensable history for pre-*Khaljī* period.

Shams Sirāj 'Afīf's *Tarīkh-i-Fīrōz Shāhī* is a continuation of Baranī's *Tarīkh* and is carried down to 1388 A.D. It occasionally refers to 'Alā'uddīn's reign which was of great significance in the 14th century. 'Afīf was born in 1350 A.D. and served under Fīroz Tughlaq.

Non-Indian Contemporary Sources.

Among the non-Indian contemporary sources the most important is the *Tarīkh-i-Vaṣṣāf*. It was finished in 1312 A.D. by 'Abdullah bin Fazlullah Vaṣṣāf, who subsequently

resumed writing and brought down the work to 1328. Vaṣṣāf's *Tarīkh* is written in Persian interspersed with Arabic at places, and his style is extremely ornamented and verbose. It is a history of the Mongols of Persia, but the author refers to happenings in India as he heard from travellers and other informed men. He refers to the climate of Gujarat and the political and commercial conditions of the Deccan. He makes mention about the Mongol raids on India in the time of 'Alā'uddīn and gives a graphic account of the closing years of that monarch. No other historian except Vaṣṣāf says anything about the Persian embassy to 'Alā'uddīn's court. The Bombay edition of the text has been used.

Jāma'-ut-Tarāwīkh of Rashīduddīn is another non-Indian contemporary work. The book which was completed in 1310 A.D. gives a reliable account of the Mongols of the 13th century. Rashīd also lends information about Indian geography. I have consulted Gibb Memorial and the Tehran texts.

The *Tarīkh-i-Guzīdah* completed in 1329 A.D. by Ḥamdullah Mustaufī is a valuable work and deals with the Mongols of Persia and Transoxiana. Mustaufī's *Nuzḥatul Qulūb* written in 1339 deals with the history of Persia. *Tarīkh-i-Guzīdah* has been published in the Gibb Memorial Text Series.

Contemporary Literature.

Besides the contemporary historical works, Indian and foreign, there is a lot of contemporary literature to throw light on the social and cultural aspect of the period. Some of the works of *Khusrau* and *Baranī* and of those who are mentioned to be great erudites in 'Alā'uddīn's reign have been lost, but whatever is left, lends useful information on this point. Reference has been made above to *Khusrau's Aijāz-i-Khusarvī* also known as *Rasā'il-ul-A'ijaz* and his *maṣnavīs* as sources of social history. But equally important are the contemporary hagiological books like the *Rāḥatul Qulūb* by Niẓāmuddīn Aulia, *Favā'idul Favād* by 'Alā Hasan Sajzī, *Afzalul Favād*

and *Rāhtul Muhabbīn* by Khusrau, *Sairul Aulia* by Amīr Khurd, *Miftahul 'Ashqīn* and *Khairul Majālis* by Nāsiruddīn Chirāgh Delhi. These books comprise mostly of the talks between the sūfī saints of our time and their disciples who were derived from all strata of society. Consequently much useful information about food and drink, customs and manners, and society and culture of those days can be culled from them. Since the books are of a religious nature, most of them have been translated into Urdu. The translations are done fairly well.

Kṛitya Ratnākar and *Vivād Ratnākar* two contemporary Sanskrit works of Chandrēshvar Thakur refer to the raid on Nepal territory by a Hindu Raja of Mithila in the time of 'Alāuddīn.

Secondary Sources.

In the course of writing this book a large number of non-contemporary Persian and Arabic texts and manuscripts have been consulted and a few of these need special attention. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahī* of Yāhya bin Aḥmad, written about the middle of the 15th century (837 H.), supplements Baranī at many places though it is in itself a very brief narrative. Its value lies in the fact that it gives dates of events frequently and is written in a simple style. I have used the Bib. Ind. Text and a Ms. copy possessed by the Allahabad University Library.

Tarikh-i-Muḥammadi was completed in 842 H. by Muḥammad Bihāmad Khan who was a contemporary of Yāhya. The author's father was in the service of Tughlaq Shah and Muḥammad Tughlaq, the son of Firoz Tughlaq. The Allahabad University Ms. is a copy of the Ms. of the British Museum.

Tabqāt-i-Akbarī of Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad written in 1593 A.D. in the time of Akbar also contains an exhaustive account of the Khaljis. Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad has borrowed

much from Baranī and tries to explain the origin of the Khaljīs. He mentions twenty seven works which he utilized in the preparation of his book. I have utilized Bid. Ind. Text.

Amin Aḥmad Razī, the author of *Haft Aqlīm*, was a contemporary of Nizāmuddīn. He is an independent writer and gives valuable information about certain points e.g. about the origin of the Bahmani dynasty. *Haft Aqlīm* is a sort of encyclopaedia and deals with political history, geography and lives of saints. The Ms. copy of the Bankipur Library has been utilized.

Abdul Qadir Badaonī's *Muntakhabut Tavārikh* was finished in 1596. He relies more on Yahya than on Baranī or Nizāmuddīn, and follows him in method of writing also. The Bib. Ind. Text and Ranking's Translation have been utilized.

More important than Badaonī is Muḥammad Qāsim Ferishtah, whose work *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī*, popularly known as *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah* was completed in 1612. It contains a detailed account of the Khaljīs and of the lives of saints contemporaneous to them. As the book was written in the Deccan Ferishtah possessed sources from which he gives a more detailed account of the Deccan campaigns of 'Alāuddīn than Baranī or even 'Iṣāmī. Ferishtah gives a detailed list of the wealth captured by 'Alāuddīn in his various Deccan campaigns and especially in the raid of Devagiri in 1296, but his data are open to doubts since they are not corroborated by any other historian. He cites no less than thirty-five works he utilized in the preparation of his book, but even then his chronology is not free from faults. Moreover, he does not make definite statements on controversial points. The Lucknow text has been utilized.

As Ferishtah was writing in the Deccan, his contemporary Ḥājiuddabīr was busy with his history in Gujarat. The real title of the book is *Zafarul Vālī bi Muzaḥḥar Valiah* and the full name of its author 'Abdullah Muḥammad bin Sīrājūd-

dīn 'Umar al Makkī surnamed Ḥājiuddabīr. He began writing in 1605 and was still engaged in 1611 on his work. Ḥāji makes use of a valuable work which so far has not been found to exist. It is the *Tabqāt-i-Bahādur Shāhi* by Husām Khan from which he quotes extensively. Ḥājiuddabīr lends information on many abstruse points and on the whole his statements are quite trustworthy. He is the only historian who gives 'Alāuddīn's age and relates interesting incidents about his family life, perhaps because he utilized sources now lost. He gives various versions of Padmini episode, and at many places in his narrative he gives original information. The work has been edited by Sir Denison Ross with a learned introduction and a very exhaustive and informative index.

Provincial Histories.

Tarīkh-i-M'āshūmī, written in 1008 H. (1599 A.D.), is a history of Sindh from the time of Muḥammedan conquest to its annexation by Akbar. Mīr M'āshūm's work throws sufficient light on 'Alāuddīn's conquest of Jaisalmer, which has not even been mentioned by any other Persian historian and has only been given by Rajput bards in a very defective manner. The text has been published.

Tarīkh-i-Tahirī of Tahir Muḥammad is also a history of Sindh completed in 1018 A.H. (1609 A.D.). *Tarīkh-i-Tahirī* and *Tuhfatul Kirām* of Mīr 'Alī Qānī of Tattha (C. 1766), another history of Sindh, have been copiously translated by Elliot. I have used the Bankipore Ms. of *Tarīkh-i-Tahirī*.

Beg Larnāmah, another history of Sindh was completed in 1017 H. (1608 A.D.). It deals with rulers of Sindh in the time of Akbar but also gives a retrospective sketch of the history of the province. The Allahabad 'Varsity Ms. is a transcript copy of the Ms. in the British Museum Library.

Of the histories of Gujarat *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* and *Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī* are the most important. The former, written by Sikandar bin Muḥammad, was finished in 1020 H. (1611 A.D.);

the latter, written by 'Ali Muḥammad Khan, was finished in 1174 H. (1760 A.D.). Though written at a later date *Mirāt-i-Aḥmad* supplies more information about 'Alāuddīn than the former. Hājīuddabīr also supplies useful information about the history of Gujarat.

Riāzus Salātīn, the only connected history of Bengal, was completed by Ghulām Husain Yazdpuri in 1202 H. (1788 A.D.). It deals with the history of Bengal from the earliest times to the date of writing. The book is full of "inaccuracies and mis-statements" and therefore is not very reliable, but a comparative study of the book with coins and inscriptions helps in ascertaining true facts about the history of Bengal.

Besides some of the important works mentioned above, many other Persian and Arabic texts and Mss. have been utilized in the preparation of this work. A large number of books in Hindi, Urdu and English have been consulted and a list of their names given in the Bibliography. Mention may here be made of Nainsī's *Khayat* which is of special value for the study of Rajput history. Compiled in 1650-66 A.D., it is not a historical work in the real sense of the term, but it throws much light on Rajput history of many centuries and presents us with a "Hindu" version of various events. It is written in Marwari interspersed with Dingal at places and covers the period from the 12th to the 17th century.

For archaeological evidence the Reports and Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, the Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica, and the Epigraphica Carnatica have been consulted. A list of the journals and periodicals utilized has been given at the end of the Bibliography.



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CORRIGENDA

The list does not contain minor printing errors.

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Read</i>	<i>For</i>
4	24	practical	practicle
5	10	asylum	anylum
23	20	or	of
25	22	courtiers	countries
25	27	remind	remained
29	15	became	become
40	6	Taghri	Taghri
41	18	trouble was soon	trouble soon
44	20	pollution	population
53	18	reminded	remained
58	23	rumoured	remoured
75	14	favourite	favorities
76	10	South-east	South-west
88	9	terrified	terrified
93	13	to Malwa	of Malwa
139	12	14th century	13th century
194	6	on	no
204	4	farther	father
219	12	prompted	prompted
240	4	stray	story
255	8	brunt	burnt
311	23	princes	prices

350, the verse of line 25 has been incorrectly printed on page 368, line 17.

